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Il Nipotismo di Roma:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPE'S
NEPHEWS.

FROM
The time of SIXTUS IV.

Anno 1471.

to the Death of the late Pope.

ALEXANDER VII.

Anno 1667.

In two Parts.

Written Originally in *Italian*, and En-
glished by *W. A. Fellow of the*
ROYAL SOCIETY.

LONDON,

Printed for *John Starkey*, and are to be sold by
Thomas Archer, under the Dial of *St. Dunstons*
Church in *Fleet-street*, 1672.



Pope Alexander
the Seventh

J. Chantry sculp.

Part. 1.

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Church in *Fleet-street*, 1672.

H I S T O R Y
 OF THE
 P O P E S
 NEW W. S.

FROM
 THE TIME OF SYLVASTIV.

TO THE DEATH OF THE LATE P O P E
 ALEXANDER VII.
 ANNO 1667.

IN TWO PARTS.
 Written Originally in Italian, and En-
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LONDON,
 Printed for John Sturges, and are to be sold by
 Thomas Baskin, under the Dial of St. Dunstons
 Church in Fleet Street, 1657.

The Author to the
R E A D E R.

Kind Reader,

I should have much to say to thee,
and not a few Ceremonies to
Complement thee withall, if two
Considerations did not make
me resolve to hold my peace, and
abstain from that courtship, which would be-
come a Preface. The first is, because I will
not (as the Proverb sayes) reckon without
mine Host, and fill thy ears with excuses,
before I know whether thy intention be to
hear them or no. Secondly, because I think
it will not be amiss to forbear Ceremonies in
the presence of so many, whose business it
hath been to be most accomplish'd in perform-
ing of them. What danger would there be
for once, to let a Reader judge of a Book,
without all those troublesome informations
from the Author? For in a word, either the
Reader hath parts and learning, and then
his own judgement needs no instruction from
the Authors; or he hath none, and is illi-
terate, and then the Author loses his time in
excusing

To the Reader.

excusing himself to one, whose abilities cannot reach his subject: But this our age being so far different from ancient times, wherein little notice was taken of the Author, though much of the thing written, it will be as just for him to inform his Reader, as for a Suppliant to inform his Judge, though never so learned; and to be recommended to him, though his case be never so just. A Friend of mine, calls the Advice to the Reader, the Sauce of the Book, because it is that part, which gives us a Stomach to read the rest. I must confess, it is for his satisfaction that I give you mine; I know not how excellent it may prove to thy Palate: but my intention, is not, at least, to put too much Salt into it; and indeed, with what can I season it, or what Ingredients have I left to compound it withall? If I praise my own work, I shall incur the censure of an interested Judge; if I dispraise it, I shall do my self an injury. To tell thee that this Book comes from Rome is in vain, because the very title of it discovers the place of its birth; and to entreat thee to read it, would be just the way to stifle thy curiosity; for now adayes every body desires the reading of those Books which are prohibited; and I am certain that it were a good way, to
incite

To the Reader.

incite the publick curiosity of the world for any Books, to intreat them that they would be pleased to let them alone, for that, without doubt, would encrease their desire of seeing it. I think I had best do as those Hunters, who for fear of raising the Partridge too soon, talk to one another so softly, and so low, that they scarce hear themselves speak. Therefore, Reader, take notice, this is that famous Nipotismo di Roma, so much desired and wished for by all the ingenious of Europe, before it was brought forth by the Author. I give thee warning to read it in private, and keep it to thy self; for if the news of thy reading it come to the Inquisitors ears, without doubt thou runnest the hazard of an Excommunication; for they have sworn, to incure no Books in Italy, but those that shall flatter the Court of Rome. It is indeed a good policy for them, and for those Church-men, who having pretensions to the highest Ecclesiastical Honours, stand all day before the Nipotismo with their Caps in their hands. I know, that in Rome this History will produce the same effect that our Nails do upon a Sore; that is, the more they scratch it, the worse they make it: Yet the itching pleases every body, and the more we scratch, the

To the Reader.

more we have a mind to scratch still. Neither do I doubt, but that there will be some flatterers and false friends of the Nephews of the Popes, who will express their dislike of this Treatise; but it will be only in appearance, and not from their hearts; which may be forgiven them, for seldome in Rome do the Tongue and the Heart correspond.

In the dayes of Innocent the eighth, some body made a Book, intituled, The Abuses of the Church-men, very satyrical, for in it were all the Ecclesiasticks Vices, but none of their Vertues, which indeed was somewhat severe: This Book was put into the Popes hands (who by judging things without passion, shewed himself to deserve his elevation to so great a dignity) for having read it in the presence of some Prelates of the holy Office, he turned to them, and said, This Book speaks truth; and if we have a mind that the Author should be found a lyar, we had best reform our selves first. I wish to God, that in this our Age, there were many such Innocents, and that all men were of so sound a judgement, as to profit by good things, and laugh only at ill ones, or rather avoid them: For my part, I think, that if ever there hath been a Book in this world free from a flattering design
and

To the Reader.

and interest, that this is one of those; for the Church of God will profit by it, the Romans will draw no small pleasure nor less advantage from the reading of it; and, I hope that it will be a kind of Looking-glass to the Nephews that are to come, whereby they may guide their actions, and steer their intentions to a better course than their Predecessors. There passed, not long ago, by this Town, a certain Prelate of Tuscany, to whom I gave a sight of this Manuscript before it was printed; he took such delight in perusing of it, that he entreated me to hasten the publication of it, with these words, For Gods sake, Sir, enrich Rome with so great a Treasure as this is; bestow so good an Example upon Princes Politicks, and illustrate all Christendome with the demonstration of so much zeal: This was the opinion of a sincere Prelate. But besides, it is most certain that the Nephews, as well those that now bear sway, as those that are out of date, and those that are to come, if they will judge without pre-occupation, will find, that this History is of no small concern to the promoting of their interest, considering, that the good which is said of them doth much surpass the ill, and that it demonstrates how necessary a thing the Nipostismo

To the Reader.

tismo is to the City of Rome. I do not pretend to any thanks or retribution for the good that shall happen to them; neither would I be content, that the harm, if there be any, should reflect upon me. As for the Book, Reader, it is in thy hands, and must stand or fall by thy verdict: I therefore only desire thee to pronounce sincerely; whether it be not as necessary for all Europe as for the City of Rome. I promise thee another Work, much more worthy thy curiosity, and fit for any body that hath a publick Employment, which is Il Cardinalismo, a Work, which speaking in general only of that Dignity, doth yet nevertheless now and then descend to particulars. In a word, I call the Cardinalismo, and the Nipotismo, Brothers; but the Cardinalismo is the eldest, because first conceived by me; in a moneth it will be printed; if thou wilt have it, thou mayest, and I can assure you, it will please you infinitely.

Farewell.

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Il Nipotismo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF

The Popes NEPHEVVS.

The First Part.

The FIRST BOOK.

The Contents.

IN which is treated, of the difference that there is
is between the ancient and New Rome.
Of the manner of Governing of the ancient
Romans. And the manner of the Popes
governing. Of the murmurs of the Gentiles,
Hereticks, and Catholicks, against the Church
of Rome and the Popes. How to come to
the knowledge of the present state of Rome
by the said murmurs. Of the time in which
people began to talk ill of the Popes, and
of the cause of this their libertie. Of the Popes
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the

the Infallibility of the Popes in admitting their Kindred to the Government of the State of the Church. Of the causes that ruin'd the old Roman Commonwealth : and of those that lessen the Honour and Grandeur of the Church of Rome. Why Christ chose to be born in a time of Peace. Of the Succession of Peter to Christ. Of the Apostles to Peter ; and of the Popes to the Apostles. Of the Holiness of Church-men in the primitive Church. Why the vertue of doing Miracles is failed in the Popes. Why for many Ages the Popes Kindred did not much care to own their Relation to him. How the Church came first to be so Rich. Of the Court of Rome. Of the Politick Wit of Church-men. Of the advantage that Politicians gain in frequenting Rome. And of some particular maxims of Innocent the Tenth, which were of utility to himself.

ROME alone amongst all the other Cities of the World can brag of the reputation, of having been alwayes esteemed the Mother of Nations, the whole Universe having almost alwayes taken a pride in paying to her a Tribute of filial Duties, in acknowledgement of which she has also opened her Breasts, and pressed her Dugge for the nourishment of those who desired to encrease by their obedience to Her, and be free from those dangers to which they are subject that have not Parents or powerful Protectors.

The glories of Rome were never equalled, no more then Rome it self. Rome hath been seen in all the Cities of the World, not only commanding,
but

but triumphing; and in *Rome* have been seen at divers times, not only Cities, but whole Provinces, nay, whole Kingdomes, obeying, and submitting. *Rome* seems to be born to rule the World, and with a great deal of Reason, since not only it hath done, but doth still exercise its Empire over a great part of it.

It ruled while it was a Commonwealth; and not content with that Empire which nature, or to say better, the valour of its Citizens had purchased for it, it proposed to acquire all that it could think on, and still the acquisitions seemed small in comparison of that which remained to be acquired. It ruled in the time of the *Roman* Emperours, who made Laws, and domineered over mankind as they pleased; nay, which was worse, tyranny it self came often from *Rome* to infect the rest of the Universe which was subject to this seat of Tyrants.

But why should we recall past Ages, and renew those wounds, which though not healed, are nevertheless worn out by the length of time. Why should we praise *Rome* for having ruled the World, if now at this present it rules it more then ever, and domineers over it in a new manner.

In the time of the Commonwealth, in the time of the Emperours, *Rome* never pretended to command consciences, and exact from souls that Tribute which now they pay to the *Vatican*.

Every City had its Bishop, every Village its Curate, and every Church its Preacher: who in his Sermons did not make it his business to exalt *Rome*; neither did the Bishop, nor the Curate expect

expect the Rules of governing their flock from Rome.

But now quite contrary maximes have prevailed; for Rome, not content with the temporal power, hath perverted the order of Government, and made the temporal submit to the spiritual, contrary to the received custome of so many Ages.

If the Commonwealth subdued Nations, if the Roman Emperours commanded over Kingdomes, they did it in such a manner, that those that obeyed seemed to have had more content then those that commanded; for they let them enjoy the liberty of their Souls, and required only from them a Civil Obedience in compliance with the interest of the State.

But the Popes having confounded and mingled together the temporal and spiritual power, laying the stress upon the spiritual, do oblige Princes and People to so exact an obedience, that the only mention of it is able to scare our hearts and minds.

The Popes shutting of Paradise and Heaven when they please, their opening of Hell when they think good, are things that oblige whole Nations to forget the Obedience due to their natural Princes, and to prostrate themselves at his Holinesses feet. The Commonwealth which ruled with so much Wisdome and Policie, the Emperours who governed with the strength of Arms, and the Tyrants who domineered with cruelty, had they but known these secret maximes, might have humbled Nations and reduced Cities with a great deal less pains, and more security.

The

The *Popes* having been armed with the Sovereign Authority over consciences, have so increased the glories of *Rome*, that there is scarce a corner in *Europe*, not a place in *Asia*, not a desert in *Africa*, nor a hidden solitude in *America*, where the name of the *Pope* hath not penetrated, and where there is not some discourse of *Rome*.

The *Gentiles* praise the *Popes*, and despise *Rome*; the Hereticks praise *Rome*, and despise the *Popes*; and the Catholics despise both *Rome* and *Popes* with a greater, though secreter, disdain, then either the *Gentiles* or the Hereticks, of which I shall give the reasons.

The *Pagans* attribute all the mischief of *Rome* to that great number of Church-men with which this City is pestred. The Hereticks, on the other side, lay all the Church-mens disorders upon the *Pope*; and therefore the Hereticks are willing enough to be reconcil'd to *Rome*; but by no means will endure the *Pope*. The *Pagans*, on the contrary, are content to be friends with the *Pope*, but not with *Rome*.

This proceeds from the distinctions that the Heathens make in the person of the *Popes*, separating the spiritual from the temporal, and Religion from Civil Government; therefore in the time of *Sixtus* the V. and *Gregory* the XV. the *Persians* and *Japponeses* sent their Ambassador to *Rome*, taking no small pride in the *Popes* friendship, whom they esteemed as one of the powerfulllest Princes of *Italy*, and for his greatness desired his Amity; their maxime being to make alliances with the most potent Princes of the World; they thought they could not better address them-

selves then to him, whom all the other Christian Princes did adore and reverence as their head.

The Hereticks destroy all this, being neither disposed to acknowledg the *Pope* as a temporal Prince, nor as a spiritual Pastor; so that with them, Popedom, Principality, Religion, Civil Government, all goes down, when they speak of the *Pope*.

Nay, I know a Gentleman of that Religion, who can by no means be perswaded that the *Pope* is master of *Rome*, and Prince of the Ecclesiastick State, though all the Princes of the world acknowledg him to be so, and for all this, the Protestant Gentleman cannot be brought to believe it, but stands firm upon the Negative.

Of the same humour was a great Lord in *Spain*, who could never be convinced, that *Henry* the fourth was King of *France*, though he knew that his own King did acknowledg him for such, and had sent an Embassadour to him, that all differences upon that subject were lay'd, and that all the Crowns in *Europe* did own him to be lawful King. And yet for all this the good *Don* could never believe that which all the world was sure of, and he died in this incredulous humour.

Now as for the murmurs that the *Gentiles*, the Hereticks, and the Catholicks have against *Rome*, there is this difference between them. The Heathens murmur upon what they hear; the Hereticks against those things that they do not believe; and the Catholicks against those things they see; and certainly of them all the Catholicks murmurs are the worst: for the eyes being as it were the treasurers

treasurers of the heart, do furnish it so abundantly with the impressions which they receive, that it never is dispossessed of them afterwards; the Proverb being very true, which sayes, *That in vain we fly from that which we carry in our hearts.* Therefore the Catholicks, murmuring boldly, because they see the abuses of *Rome*, are much more believed than the others.

But indeed to speak truth, if we ballance the reasons that these three sorts of persons have to talk disadvantageously of *Rome*, we shall find that the Hereticks have the greatest and most weighty arguments of their discontent.

But before I prove this, it is necessary to give notice that I make a distinction betwixt Hereticks and Protestants, though the Church of *Rome* does confound both these denominations; for they are Hereticks who deny the true Religion for a false one, which they set up without any foundation of reason, thinking that their own opinion is enough.

The Protestants are those that abhor innovations, and do tie themselves to the sense of the Holy Scripture, denying every thing they find not in those sacred Records: and for my part, I intend to speak only of the Protestants, not of the Hereticks.

Let us return to our subject; and say, that the *Popes* do neither good nor harme to the Heathens; to the Catholicks they do both good and evil; and to the Protestants alwayes ill, and never good. Looking upon the Heathens as neuters, upon the Catholicks as their friends, and upon the Protestants as their greatest enemies.

From thence it proceeds that the Catholicks are more scandalized at the *Popes* errors, for they being friends are admitted to dive into the bottom of the disorders: The Protestants seeing that the *Popes* do not only suspect them, but openly profess enmity with them, do busie all their industry in penetrating into those hidden mysteries of the Court of *Rome*, that they may not be surprised, but have wherewith to defend themselves in their disputes: and therefore that which they report of the Court of *Rome* is most ordinarily true.

The Heathens let *Rome* alone as long as *Rome* lets them alone; and they talk according to the informations they receive from Catholicks and Protestants.

Whosoever therefore intends to draw a quintessence of truth out of so many different relations, must not give credit only to what the Catholicks say; for they being friends and dependants of the *Pope*, cannot do less for their own reputation, as well as for his, then to hide the abuses and palliate the disorders of his Court; neither ought he to take his informations from the Protestants alone, because they, being prepossessed with an aversion to the *Pope*, cannot chuse but be blinded by their pre-occupation, and say more then is true, in discredit of the proceedings of his Court.

The method of History would require a strict examination of the relations of both parties in matter of fact, and a ballance of their opinions in matter of policy, and upon so mature a discussion it were fit to frame the body of the History, and found the maxims of policy; for the History would then be true, and the maxims certain.

This

This hath always been my way of writing, in-
somuch that many, both Protestants and Catho-
licks, have not been able to distinguish my Religi-
on in my works, nor know whether the Author
were Protestant or Catholick; and this because of
the sincerity with which I praise, in both parties,
that which deserves commendation, and blame
vice, let it be where it will, and in what place and
person soever.

But to say true, this present age hath so corrupt-
ed and perverted the art of writing, that some
write only to flatter, and others to satyrize; and
there is no ingenious Catholick but must confess,
that there are publish'd every day more Libels by
the Catholicks against *Rome*, then Satyrs by the
Protestants against the Popes; therefore now a-
dayes the wiser sort of men give more credit to a
Protestants relation, then to a Catholicks, meeting
with less passion in the first then in the last, against
the Popes and *Rome*.

I have been a great while in Protestant Coun-
tries, and have likewise made no small stay in
Rome, where I have heard a thousand and a thou-
sand times, both Romans and Protestants, discourse
of the Popes Nephews, and their actions; but I
must confess, that in *Geneva* it self I never heard
any discourse so full of liberty, nor so satyrical, as
those which the Romans, nay the Prelates them-
selves have vented in my presence, concerning the
Popes and the Ecclesiastick authority.

Nay, I'll say more, and it is a thing I am very
sure of, having heard it often said by persons of
great understanding; the Protestant Gentlemen
that travel to *Rome* are much more scandalized at

the Romans proceedings towards the Popes, than the Catholick Gentlemen, who travel in Protestant Countries, are to hear the Pope defam'd and ill spoken of amongst them.

The Protestants, when they talk with Catholicks, because they cannot reasonably expect to be believed, do conceal the greatest part of the imperfections of the Popes kindred; but the Catholicks say a great deal more than becomes them, thinking thereby to show their aversion to vice.

More than all this, I say, that of all that is said in *Rome* concerning the Popes actions, and his kindred, there is none of it comes from the North, but from *Rome* it self; but on the contrary, even all that is said in the North, springs from *Rome*, and is not born in the Protestants Countrey.

The Romans make the Pasquins in *Rome*, and then to excuse themselves lay them upon the Protestants: thus the Pope is abused and deceived by the Romans themselves; so that then we may say with a great deal of reason, that out of *Rome* it self springs the source of all the harm it receives.

I wonder now no longer to see the change of stile which I have observed in Writers from age to age, since in the Court of *Rome* they change their way of living and speaking from day to day.

In the time that the Popes had golden consciences, and wooden walls, when with bare feet and clothed with sackcloth they went from door to door, accepting the charity of the faithful for their

their sustenance, and that full of zeal they administered themselves the Sacraments, exposing their lives for the safety of their flock. When the Popes applied themselves only to their Pastoral charge, without concerning themselves in Princes temporal interests: *Rome* in those dayes knew nothing of other Princes Courts, neither did the Courts of Princes concern themselves for *Rome*; there was so little mention made of the Popes, that the Church-men and Bishops did scarce know where to find them in their most important necessities.

It would have been indeed a great sacrilege to have spoken ill of a Pope, who from morning to evening did nothing but visit the sick, distribute the Sacraments, comfort the people, and serve the Altar with true zeal and piety.

But when once the face of things was changed, and that the Popes, weary of serving to the Altars, resolved to be served by the Altars themselves, when thinking it too low an employment to visit the sick, they pretended to be visited themselves by the greatest Princes, and have their feet kissed by them; these Popes, who were at first the edification of whole Nations, became a scandal to all the Kingdoms, for both Princes and people being surpris'd with this sudden change, and wondring at this new scene of grandeur, gave themselves up to seek into the reason of this alteration; and as it often happens, that in the Enquiries into one defect we discover another, so the world found out in the Popes change so many new subjects for murmuring and discontent, that from thence ensued Schismes and Heresies,

with an infinite prejudice to the Church of Rome.

If the Popes would have been content to have been the heads of the Church in holiness and good life, and not in Majesty and grandeur, the world would never have conceived so many sinister thoughts of their actions; therefore if there be murmurs in Rome, and the rest of Christendome, the Popes may thank themselves, for the fault is not in those that murmur, but in those that furnish them with a lawful subject for their complaints.

But let us speak truth: In the time that the Popes left to the Emperours the secular care of government, and all the interests of the temporal state, holiness and good life did shine in the Popes, as well as in the Church and Churchmen; miracles were frequent, and Saints multiplied as fast as tyrant Emperours.

But as soon as the Popes usurped the civil power, and began to meddle with state matters, their holiness disappeared, miracles vanished, and by a strange mutation the Emperours became Saints, and the Popes as passionate for the temporal interest as the greatest Tyrants.

The Hereticks go further and say, that the Popes are really Tyrants, as having introduced the Inquisition, which by constraining mens consciences to an exteriour worship of what they abhor, does more severely punish the breach of one of the Popes Orders, then it does the violation of one of Gods Commandments.

To this the Popes oppose, as a defence, the reason of policy, that obliges them to establish the Inqui-

Inquisition, leaving to their Divines the task of answering the other more sharp objection; who having no other way to extricate themselves from that difficulty, have written, to confute the hereticks, such vast volumes of Controversie, that they being not able to read them, remain in their obstinacy, with no small damage to the Pope and his Divines.

But this strange change of the Popes, from spiritual to temporal, and from holy Bishops to politick Princes, is not so much to be attributed to the Popes themselves, as to their Nephews and kindred, there is the source and origin of the disease; for while the Popes lead a private life, and let their Nephews alone in their own homes, they were eminent for their zeal to the true Religion; but they had no sooner introduced them into Rome, but forgetting themselves, they fell to idolizing their Nephews, and for the increase of their greatness, employed not only the gold of the Church, but even all the pains and fatigues of the Popedom, nay even the consciences of their whole flock.

Experience teacheth us, that many Popes, and particularly those of the greatest reputation, in the beginning of their Popedom did not only renounce their kindred, and refuse to own them, but with a solemn oath did protest to the Cardinals, that they would govern alone, and not admit their kindred upon any pretext whatsoever; so far they were from giving them a share in the government,

Alexander the seventh, who now lives, was one of those for a time, and from him we may conclude
of

of the thoughts of the rest; for in the beginning of his Pontificat he shewed himself to be so averse from his kindred, that some thought him a Saint, or at least a man much above the frailties of humane nature.

Don Mario his Brother, *Don Agostino* his Nephew, and the Cardinal that now is, did every day offer up their prayers to Heaven, for a change in their Uncles inclinations; the Ambassadors of Princes and Cardinals, did nothing but weary themselves out in alledging to his Holiness the necessity of introducing his kindred, that it would be not only honourable, but of great advantage to the State and Church.

Yet the good Pope remaining unshaken in his opinion, was resolved to deny all their instances, nay, often would be exceedingly scandalized at those that pressed him to it, saying, he could not in conscience condescend to their desires; as one day being importun'd upon the same occasion by *Father Palavicino*, a Jesuit, and his Confessor, who now is Cardinal, he answered him in these words, *Your obligation, father, is to absolve from sins, and not invite to commit them.*

Of this humour hath not been *Alexander* alone, but in the lives of the Popes there are many other such examples, as that of *Adrian* the sixth, and *Pius* the fifth, who were wont to say, *that they would make it their task to perswade the world that they could live without kindred.*

Now I would fain know, from whence proceeded in them this humour, so opposite to the others? if from an aversion and a kind of hatred to their relations, then certainly it was a sin, since

since we have as a Commandment from God, *Despise not thy own flesh*; if to make shew of an apparent zeal, that was worse, for they were guilty both before the world and God Almighty; if out of a design of first bestowing kindnesses on their Friends before they gave themselves up to their Nephews, it was a preposterous charity, which ought to have begun nearer home.

It remains then to conclude, that certainly these Popes, who made this profession of disowning their Relations, did it, because they were really perswaded, that the errors of their predecessors did proceed from this principle of admitting their kindred to a share in the government, and therefore they thought fit to free themselves from so great an imputation.

Therefore to save the reputation of the Papal dignity, I am forced to say, that those Popes, who at first did profess an aversion to their kindred, and yet afterwards admitted them, were certainly seized with some melancholy humours and capriciousness, which made them commit such errors. It must not seem strange if I call them errors, since reason it self must needs call them so; for first, to be perswaded that their predecessors had failed in admitting their kindred into Rome, and in giving up the government of the Church into their hands; then, to swear and protest to keep theirs at a distance, that they may be freed from the like miscarriages; and after all this, not onely to call them into Rome, give them the Keys of the treasure, and put all the administration of the temporal and spiritual into their hands, whereby to make themselves Princes, but also to give them
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an absolute authority over the Church, the Pope-dome, nay, the very person of the Pope; this is certainly to demonstrate, that the Pope hath the power of making that to be good and just, which he hath condemn'd for bad and mischievous; which if the people of *Rome*, or the Courtiers, do believe, certainly people of judgment and sound understanding do not.

As for me, I have not hitherto denied that opinion of the Roman Divines, viz. *that the Popes cannot erre*; but when once I came to see the falsity of it proved in the person of *Alexander* the seventh, certainly I have had a mind to curse those Divines, that flatter thus the Popes, not out of a design to serve the Church, but to make themselves great; and we know very well that there are now many of them living, who have been made Cardinals, meerly because they had writ to the advantage and honour of the Pope, which thing still stirs up others to do the same; but let them write what they will, all the world shall never perswade me, but that the proceeding of *Alexander* towards his kindred, in calling them to him, contrary to his oath, is as great an error as ever Pope committed.

Yet let us do them the favour to interpret their Doctrine their own way, and allow of their distinction, that is, that the Popes are infallible in matters of faith, but not in matters of policy; let it be so; but if we do them this kindness, I hope they will be so civil as to require it with another: we desire them then to tell us a little; The Popes Nephews, have they not the same authority as the Popes themselves, who invest them
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with it as soon as they are admitted into the *Vatican*, they govern all affairs, politick, civil, ecclesiastick, and in a word, sacred, prophane, divine, all things pass through their hands. Then with them sometimes the Popes may erre, even in matters of faith, since often in matters of faith they trust their Nephews, who being men subject to passions, are admitted by all to be capable of error.

I would fain ask you, whether *Alexander* the seventh, who had so great an aversion to his kindred at first, had the assistance of the holy Ghost, or whether he had it not?

If you answer he had it not, I am well pleased, and do profess with you, that I think that policy and humane reasons were the causes of his proceedings.

But if he had the holy Ghost, how then can you reconcile his first refusing to admit the calling his Nephews to his assistance? for either it was good or bad to admit them to his help in so great a charge; if good, then he failed at first in keeping them away, and shewing himself so alienated from them; if bad, then he failed at last, in repealing his first resolution, and betraying the Church and its riches into their hands.

The holy Ghost is infallible, and to believe the contrary is a high impiety; how is it then that the Popes have the holy Ghost, and yet cannot abstain from failing? certainly to me it appears a kind of blasphemy and prophanation of the honour of the Divinity. We know that the holy Ghost inspires nothing but what is good, and yet we see that the *Popes* do commit ill. The Protestant

Saints do utterly deny this opinion, and demonstrate by good proofs, that the Pope neither hath, nor can have the holy Ghost in a more particular manner than other men; but for my part I believe that the holy Ghost is in the Popes when he pleases, and they receive him when they can.

So to save the reputation of Pope *Alexander* the seventh, I'll say, that in the beginning of his Pontificat he had not the holy Ghost, for if he had, he would have received his kindred; but the holy Ghost begun to take possession of the Pope, just at the same time that his kindred took possession of *Rome*, and of the Church; and therefore the good man was much to blame to keep the holy Ghost and his kindred out so long together, since by this means he deprived himself of the riches of the Spirit, and his relations of the riches of this world: But now he hath mended his error, and made amends for all. Many believe that the Popes err with their kindred, and their kindred with them; but for my part I believe that the Apostles did not err, because that they received the holy Ghost from Jesus Christ himself; but the Popes do err because they receive the holy Ghost from the Divines, who give it them, how and when they please: I know what I say.

Often *Rome* hath lost the order of its government, because it was become a prey to the ambition of its Subjects; and as often it hath been brought upon the brink of its ruine, by gold and riches.

Old *Rome* had much ado to preserve it self by an infinite number of severe Laws, and at last did
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make a shift betwixt good and bad times, to rub out some Ages, till new *Rome* came and took its place. By old *Rome* I mean that *Rome* that was founded by *Romulus*, and ended at the time of our Saviour: and by new *Rome* I understand *Rome* that was born in Christ, and lives even now in him. Now if the ancient City of *Rome* came to its ruine through ambition and covetousness, it will become us to consider what effects these very same things do produce in our new *Rome*.

When we speak of *Rome*, we speak of a City that desires to be acknowledged by all Nations, as the head of Christendom. Now let us see the difference between the Pagan and the Christian *Rome*, the old and the new.

In the time that our Saviour was born in *Beth-lehem*, to destroy this old *Rome* of the Heathens, and give the foundation of this new Christian City, *Augustus* not only commanded, that all the Nations of the Roman Empire should be numbered, to shew, that with the coming of Christ there was a new Empire begun, but likewise he brought all the world into a calm peace and tranquillity; so that our Saviour no sooner appeared, but peace was the joy and comfort of the whole Universe. Christ chose to be born in a time of peace, and not of war and milery, for two causes: First, to set a difference betwixt the new and old *Rome*; the old having been founded in blood and dissention, under the government of *Romulus* a Pagan, it was more than just, that the new should begin with peace; under the dominion of the King of Kings, the holy One of *Israel*. Secondly, to the end that the Successors of the Apostles,

Apostles, who were to reside in *Rome*, might not one day excuse their faults, with alledging the beginnings of the Christian Religion for example; and therefore our Saviour took possession of *Rome* in peace, and delivered it to those Popes, who were to govern *Rome* and *Christendome*.

To Christ succeeded *Peter*, to *Peter* the Popes, as the Divines of *Rome* teach, and do endeavour to prove, against the Protestants, as a principal point of Religion.

The Popes then took possession of this new *Rome*, with the holiness of life; and when first they established this Ecclesiastical Senate, they chose out men so holy, and of so good a life, that the Citizens willingly submitted to prostrate themselves at the feet of such Governours.

Ambition was then so far from the hearts of the Bishops, that not only many Prelates did renounce their Bishopricks, but also many retir'd from the *Vatican*, where they were adored, into desarts and solitudes, to serve God their Creatour without trouble.

Gold had not yet found the way to *Rome*, because there was no hand that would receive it, no Treasurer to keep it, and all its glittering was much below that vertue, which did so eminently shine in those that were the Guardians of *Rome*. Woe would have been to that man, who should have opened himself a door to preferment in the Church with a golden Key; the Excommunications, the Laws, the pains of this and the next world, were fulminated against Simony, which was as much abhorred by all the Church-men then, as it is now practised.

In one thing alone old *Rome* did not agree in its beginnings with the new; for one promoted to its highest honours, those Citizens who had shed their blood, and could produce noble scars received in the defence of their Country; but the other bestowed Offices and Ecclesiastical Dignities upon those, who in consideration of another world did despise this, and mortified their flesh and affections. The *Roman* Empire rise by Valours, the *Roman* Church by Holiness.

The Actions of those, that pretended to any place of publick employment in old *Rome*, were examined by the Senate; and the services, which the Senate had received from those Candidates, were as it were ballanced with the honour they ambitioned, and the weight of the place they stood for: and if those services were such, as to be able to weigh down these scales of equity, the Candidate was sure to obtain his desires; if they proved too light, he was forced to stay, and with new Endeavours encrease the obligation the publick had to him already.

Just in the same manner did the Popes at first proceed in the distribution of the charges of the Church; for having ballanced the holiness of life, and excellency of parts of him who was to be admitted, with the weightiness of the place; if the goodness of life was so eminent, as to surpass the exigency of the Office, the Demandant was without delay preferred, otherwise he was sent away with shame and confusion.

The Conquests of Kingdoms, and the subduing of Provinces, were the Keys, with which the

Romans opened to themselves the door of honour, and an entrance into the Senate? but in new *Rome*, persecutions, martyrdomes, and mortifications, were the fore-runners of Christian Dignities, and the only way to Bilhopricks and Popedomes.

While the *Popes* lived thus, and that this age of holiness lasted, it was with a great deal of reason, that the rest of the World called their *Rome*, *Romala Santa*, *Rome* the holy: The *Popes* were looked upon to be more like Angels then Men, not only because their actions were altogether heavenly, but because that living in this world, without owning any of their kindred, they seemed rather sent from Heaven, then taken from the midst of mankind.

There hath been some *Popes*, who while they were Bishops and Cardinals did reckon an incredible number of Nephews and Cozens; and yet no sooner were they promoted to the highest Prelature, but all their kindred vanished and disappeared, as if they had never had any.

If in those times you had asked any of them if they were a-kin to the *Pope*, he would have denied it openly, so little did the *Popes* care for their kindred, and their kindred for them: The cause of this was, that the *Popes* did not measure in their kindred their deserts, by any carnal affection they had for them, but compared their merits by the Standard of Christian perfection; so that if a Kinsman of a *Pope* should have happened to have had, for competitor in any place, one not much above him in learning and piety, yet without doubt he should have yielded to this

this his Competitour, and gone without his pretensions.

Hence it came, that the Popes kindred, that they might not receive affronts in *Rome*, did forbear to come at the City; and least the world should by their absence conclude of the meanness of their deserts, they would give it out, that they were in no wayes related to the Pope, whose kindred they were, saving thus their honour without honour.

In those times, the Popes did often resist the Emperours tyrannical proceedings; and withstood their injuries, not with Armies and Fleets but with Zeal and Piety they did boldly oppose their vices and corruptions; as amongst others, *Gregory* the seventh excommunicated the Emperour *Henry*, and banished him from all commerce with the rest of his Christians, only because he had received I know not what sum of money from a Bishop, who us'd his favour to be prefer'd to a vacant Bishoprick.

Rome was then truly holy without ambition and without gold; and glorious were the Popes, who with their zeal and good actions made barbarous Kings tremble, and Tyrants humble themselves to the yoke of Christian Religion; and indeed who would not obey that Pope, that should prefer true merit and deserts before Relations and Kindred, Vertue before Vice, Learning before Ignorance, zeal before Ambition, Poverty before Riches, his Flock before his Kindred, and Justice before Favour and Recommendations?

But if hitherto we have spoken of *Rome* without

out corruption, and of Popes full of zeal and holiness, so we must now consider *Rome* under another habit, that is, not holy, but wicked, not pure and innocent, but defiled and full of ambition and avarice.

While the Popes lived in this retired manner, divested of all earthly affections to their kindred, and inclin'd only to recompence deserts and goodness, *Rome* was happy and holy; but as soon as Christian modesty began to be banish'd by worldly pomps, that favour took place of merit, that ambition overpowred humility, and covetousness laughed at Charity, the Popes began to lose their credit, *Rome* its goodness, the Church its Saints, and there started up another Church, another *Rome*, and other Popes.

And no sooner did the love of riches take possession of *Rome*, but *Christendom* was engaged in desperate Schisms, with no small affliction to the real and pious part of the Christian world.

Two hundred and twenty six years after the birth of Christ, the Popes began to change their poverty into riches, and with them introduced ambition into the Church; this was done in the time of *Urban* the first, who ordained, that the Church should possess land, riches, power, command, and all other conveniencies, to the end that Church-men might be rewarded out of the revenues of the Church it self.

Before *Urban's* time, Ecclesiasticks were to trust to the alms of the faithfull, and their charity; and whilst that lasted, they thought of nothing else, then the conduct of Souls, having no care to take, either for the encrease or conservation of
their

their Fortunes; but as soon as they saw the Church enriched with Abbeys, Canonicates, and other revenues; they fell to disputing among themselves, every one desiring the possession of the richest benefice.

Urban in doing this had nevertheless no ill intention; and if his Successors had followed his steps, the revenues of the Church had certainly animated *Rome's* greatness, and yet diminish'd nothing of the Churches riches.

When I speak of the riches of the Church, I mean, not the temporal, but the spiritual riches, as St. *Laurence* understood it, when being asked by the Emperour where were the riches of the Church, he produced before him a multitude of poor impotent beggars, but of a good life.

Therefore the Church became poor in Saints, and rich in ambitious Ecclesiasticks, who did now employ that time which they used to spend in the Churches, and at the feet of our Saviour, with the Popes and Bishops, in reckoning up the Revenues of their Abbies, and procuring preferments to themselves and others.

The bringing of temporal riches into the Church was a poison which infected the Church, and made the Church-men swell, till at last they were ready to burst with their own venome. As the Church encreased in revenues, *Rome* decreased in Holiness and Holy men, and Saints forsook it when once Courtiers and men of business came into it. I mean living Saints; for as for dead Saints there are too many in it still, it being a part of its Trade to do now for Gold and Riches, that which before was done by poverty and self-denial, I mean, Canonising of Saints. Be

Before the Church enjoyed temporal revenues; there was modesty in the Church-mens Apparel; but with the introduction of riches, pride, pomp, and vanity took place; then were invented Miters, Scarlet Robes with long Traines, Copes, and Tippetts; so that with the expense that one is at now to cloath a Prelate or a Cardinal many poor might be fed and covered, and particularly poor Priests, who are faine to beg from Laicks that which their own Prelates should bestow upon them.

Though things were carried on with this corruption, yet was it not come to that pass that the Popes durst bring their Nephewes to the Sterne, and Government of St. Peters Vessel; they were content to rule the temporal and spiritual without controule; but did not think of entayling the Popedom upon their kindred, which made their Nephewes and Relations keep at a distance, being unwilling to be seen in Rome without command and power.

Nicholas the third, in the year 1229, went about to make two of his Nephewes of the House of the *Ursins* Kings, one of *Toscany*, and the other *Lumbardy*, to the end that one should keep the *Germans* in awe, who have one part of the *Alpes*, and the other the *French*, who were then Masters of the Kingdomes of *Naples* and *Sicily*: and that he might compass his design with lesse trouble, he perswaded Peter King of *Arragon* to undertake the recovery of the Kingdom of *Sicily*, to which he had a right by *Constantine* his Wife,

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But all these designs soon vanished and were buried in the Tombe of the *Popes* brain, where they were first conceived. 'Tis true, that many say, that the *Pope* did this only to satisfie the pressing instances of his Nephews: but because he affected more the quiet of the Church, then the advancement of his kindred, he persisted not in his enterprize, but just as long as was necessary to make his Kindred believe he had once well resolved it; and thus the *Ursins*, who aspired to so much Grandeur, remained disappointed, and the *Pope* was pleased in the demonstration he had given them of his kindness.

The *Popes* were not yet perfect in the art of raising their kindred; the carnall love of their Relations did but begin a combat with the spiritual zeal for the Church, and as yet the last was too hard for the first, and in all occasions did carry it before their kindness for their Relations.

From *Nicholas* to *Sixtus* the Fourth, who was created in the year 1471, the *Popes* did by little and little humanize themselves, and lay aside that rude severity to themselves, and to their kindred, who now began to come very willingly to *Rome*, being sure to meet with kinder receptions then heretofore had been shewed to precedent *Popes* Relations; and when once they were in *Rome* and in sight of their Uncle, he to prevent them from leading an idle life, would give them entrance into the Vatican, and honour them with places of Honour and profit.

Withal, these things were carried so closely; that though the Church did receive some detriment,

ment, yet the people of *Rome*, and the other Christian Nations had no greater occasion of scandal given them neither from the Nephewes, nor from the Popes. The first of which were well pleased with any thing that was given them; and the last, that is, the Popes, were so provident as to be liberal only of what was superfluous, and not of that which the Church and *Rome* could not spare.

But in the time of *Sixtus*, Ambition and Covetousness introduced themselves so openly, with the utter destruction of the modesty and decorum of the Church, together with the subversion of Christian Piety, occasioned all by his filling the *Vatican* with such a company of Nephewes, that from that time forward we must reckon the birth and growth of the *Nipotismo*; in the History of which, before we engage any further, it will not be amiss to give a Character of, the Court of *Rome*, which now at present is maintained by, and depends entirely upon the *Nipotismo*.

One of the greatest extravagancies that I meet withall in the World, is the error of those who are perpetually exclaiming again Courts; and generally 'tis observed, that few of those that are of this humour, have been Courtiers, or if they have, yet have they not made any considerable stay in them. But for Gods sake, what kind of thing was the World, before there were any Courts? nothing but the refuge of baseness, the quintessence of ignorance, and apparent blindness, and in a word, a barbarous throne of Vices, and all sorts of ill actions.

Many complain of the Court, but few of themselves, for not having been able to maintain the ground

ground, and keep the place they had once in it; as if the Court were bound to descend to a compliance with every particular mans humour, and not particular men rather frame themselves to a condescendency for the Court.

Who is it that frames and constitutes a Court? 'tis the Prince, without whom there is no such thing. But who brings Vices to the Court? The Courtiers; and yet though the Courtiers be bad, and the Prince good, all the fault is laid upon the Prince.

Princes seldome fail, to recompence those services which they receive from their Courtiers, and without this quality they would not long be Princes. 'Tis true, that some are more reserv'd others more liberal in their rewards, but still the defect is not in the Prince, but in the Courtier, whose ambition is not to be ruled by his Princes judgement, and against whom he exclaims for not contenting him.

To the ambition or desire of honour is alwayes added an a vidity or desire of riches in Courtiers; these two monsters being the natural production of Courts.

The Court is to the whole World, as a furnace to Gold, to purifie, and refine mens wits, Whensoever any bodies ingenuity is under a cloud, and not known, let him come to Court, for there without doubt he will be prest to an exact trial of his skill; and let him use it all in hiding himself, and drawing as it were a vayle over his designs, yet he shall find the Court to be that true Touch-stone of mens actions, and he shall be known, for what he is really, and not for what he would seem to be.

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This general discourse is only, that we may descend with more light and instruction to particulars. All other Courts, are streams, and rivers; but the Court of *Rome* is the head and source of them all; and as ordinarily we find out the head by following the stream, so I thought it fit to say something in generall of Courts, before I came to the description of the Court of *Rome*. Among all Nations in the World, the *Italians* are the most famous for managing State Affairs, and being naturally inclined to be good Politicians. Neither do the Princes of the North deny this advantage to the Courts of our *Italian* Princes, who in the Government of their States, are masters of so much conduct, and subtilty, that none but very excellent and experienced geniusses can penetrate the depth of their Counsels.

But those maxims and Court slights, which in *Italy* are ordinary, are as it were natural and inseparable from the Church-men of the Court of *Rome*; which City, upon this score, is become famous in all forreign Countries, not as a place that teaches, and instructs Church-men, but as one that is taught and perfected by them.

He that desires to see politick stratagems, and all that subtilty can compass, let him not forsake *Rome*, where he shall soon learn how State Affairs ought to be managed.

I alwayes had a great opinion of the cunning and abilities of Church-men in matter of Government; but when once I came to *Rome*, and began to know by experience something of their wayes, I must confess, that my imagination was far short of the reality of what I had conceived.

It was no hard matter for *Rome*, both the old, and the new, to be mistress of the world, and give Laws to Nations, since it hath alwayes been the School of true policies, as having even in its birth drained all the rest of the world of its cunning, and impoverished it in slights to enrich its self.

For the space of fifteen Ages, the Churchmen have already demonstrated to the world their abilities, and subtilty; and that so much the more to the wonder of all, because their beginnings have been so different from the means they have us'd, shifting from one thing to another, and changing upon all occasions, as Seamen do their Sailes with the wind, so that they seem to be born entirely for their own profit.

In the first Ages of the Church, the Court of *Rome* thought it convenient to comply with the Courts of other Princes, and this slight had its effect, while the Emperours Tyrannised over *Rome*; but their Tyranny being destroyed, the Court of *Rome* chang'd its way, and desired a compliance from all other Courts to its self.

Yet this proceeding too, having by little and little, intricated, and perplex'd the Court, and Courtiers, they were fain to come back to their first compliance, and by all Arts appease the malcontents, and keep those that were affectionate from being alienated: but now the face of things is so changed, and the nature of transactions so perverted, that they which now command in the Court of *Rome* have invented new wayes how to carry themselves, and correspond with princes, very intricate, and different from those that were us'd in past Ages

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Therefore there are very few who having resided in this Court, do at last forsake it to return home, but they have a great deal of reason to complain and be ill satisfied of its proceedings; not only because they had not found so much favour as they had expected; but because they found that they had been merely deluded with fair promises, and at last, as it were laughed at for their pains. For the Courtiers of Rome have a particular maxime, either of perplexing, or of jeering those that come to negotiate with them. The truth is; they have been so subtil in providing for their interest, and have brought things to that pass, that they seem to be able to be without those, who can by no means be without them; upon which score the Ministers of some Princes were wont to say; *That Negotiations in the Court of Rome were a mischief to those that were employed in them, but a very necessary one.* And in a word; The Court of Rome cannot be better compared, than to a Labyrinth, out of which, many think they are going, when they do but just enter it.

Many have compared it to the Monky, that hugs its young ones to death; for just so do the Church-men, who embrace every one with a paternal affection; but in those embraces, they that receive them, find their ruine. Therefore have a Care of Romes kindness. Others do compare it to a Tree laden with fruit, that to look upon, seems ripe and fair, which when you come to tast, you find sower and crabbed.

For my part, I think the Court of Rome is like those pills that Physitians give to their patients, which

which are all gold without, that they may not displease the sick person by exposing to his view Cassia, or Antimony, &c. and he, poor man, trusting to this glorious exteriour swallows the Pill, and in the swallowing of it often perceives the bitterness.

So *Rome*, or rather the Church-men in *Rome*, cover every thing with the gold of their inventions and flights, giving thus to Princes and Nations most bitter medicines covered with the zeal of Religion, which they have no sooner swallowed, but they find that there was nothing but an appearance of good in it.

In the Court of *Rome* it often falls out, that he that makes as if he knew all mens intrigues is altogether ignorant, and he that feigns to know nothing, knows all. The exterior shew of goodness runs like a stream in the sight of all, but it springs from a thred of mischief, which is seen by few, because there they seldome give the sting without the honey.

Nothing is done in *Rome* without the zeal of Religion; and yet the zeal of Religion is that which prevails least in all things. For they make a great distinction between those things that they desire, and those that they ought to do. They employ all their resolution and their prudence towards the compassing of the first, but they seldome perform the last, as not being inclin'd to make their wills stoop to their duty.

These maxims, or the like, are common in all the Princes Courts, both within and without *Italy*; but *Rome* is the Seminary of these Arts, in which the Church-men are masters.

He that goes to negotiate in *Rome* as a publick Minister from some Prince or State, must first have made some stay in it as a private person; and for my part, I am perswaded, that to have good success in such an employment, one stands in need of that double Spirit which *Eliseus* asked *Elias* for; since that Church-men are so double-souled, as to use nothing but slights and subtilties in their negotiations.

He that can live four or five years in the Court of *Rome*, without meeting with such impediments as shall make him stumble and go neer to fall, may live a whole Age in any other Princes Court without trouble.

We see every day by experience, that many excellent Politicians, Ministers of Princes, and States, who in other Courts had got a great deal of credit and acputation, by managing business to their Princes content, are no sooner come to *Rome*, but in an instant they lose all that honour that they had taken so much paines for. And indeed many are they that come to the Court of *Rome* with a great deal of credit, but few come off and leave it with honour and reputation.

In a Climate subject to so many sudden changes, they that live in it must expect thunder and lightning, as well as fair weather. There negotiations must needs be hard, where the face of things are changed every day.

Many publick Ministers lose themselves in *Rome*, because they know well where they are, but not with whom they are: for whilst they think they have to do with a Monarchy, of a sudden they meet with a Republick and a Senate

Senate; and when they imagine to be engaged with a common wealth and a Senate, they find they have to do with a Monarchy: so that like a ball they are tossed from the Monarch to the Senate, and back again: Because indeed, the government of *Rome* is a Monarchy without a Head, and a Common wealth without Councellors. And thus even they that reside long in *Rome* are often puzzled in such sudden changes.

The Government of the Popes is much different from that of all other Princes; because that they that are raised to this eminent degree do often come to it, so raw and ignorant of Policies, that they are a great while before they can attain to any perfection in their charge, which when they have done at others expences, it is time for them to leave the world and their government to their Successours, who most commonly are of the same past fortune, introducing Church-men to this so high a command, and nature hurrying them away from the throne before they are fit for it.

I do not wonder, that in the Court of *Rome*, through a long experience, even the dullest and rawest Politicians do become at last most expert; since that from all the parts of the World, *Rome* receives none but the wisest and most able Statemen to negotiate with her.

One of my friends compares this Court to the Sea; for as it receives in its bosome all the Rivers of the Earth, and being by them filled and swelled fills them again from whom it received its plenty. So *Rome* doth as it were suck from the rest of the World, their purest milk of policies, and distributes it again, like a kind mother, to all those that

that are content with the appellation of its children.

Indeed as for the sucking part, I think my friend is much in the right; for Church-mens lips are so fit for their function, that they lose not one drop; but as for the distributive part, they make it a more difficult thing than he or others would imagine.

Neither do I wonder at it, for when they deal with others, they alwayes propose to them the zeal of Religion, and the interest of Christian Piety: While under the pretext of these, they hide their self-policy, to use it in time and place convenient: Which no body can discover but themselves. The truth is, that a good politician may receive some benefit, by diving into that which they so much endeavour to hide; but he shall never be advanaged by any thing that they shall willingly reveal to him, their undoubted maxime being never to discover any thing but such as they need not, or that cannot be beneficial to others.

To give a great proof of what I say; I remember, that an Embassador of an Italian Prince, a wise and able man, being returned home after seven years stay in his employment at Rome, could give to his master for all account of his Embassy, nothing but ambiguous words, equivocal enigmes, and uncertain answers; whereupon his Prince not understanding him, required a better information at his hands, and was thus answered by him.

Serenissime Prince: *The School of Rome hath furnished me with no other Lectures: then what I have*

have already layed open to your Highness: Therefore with all due submission, I beseech your Highness to have compassion of me, if I appear before you so barren and so empty; for in seven years time I have not been able to obtain from these Church-men any solid substance, to fill my self withal. This 'tis that befalls most Ambassadors and Agents in Rome.

Innocentius the Tenth had brought the Court into such a confusion; that in his time no body knew where to begin any business: For he did so little care to trouble himself with the important affairs of Christendom; that most commonly he refused to meddle, even in those which concerned his pastoral function. His troublesome hours were, when he was forced to give audience to a foreign Ambassadour, and to be rid of business; his maxims were, To deny all favours, to answer all requests with a negative, and never to come to a final resolution in any thing that might please his enemies; though the thing in itself was very beneficial to the Church and State. If he had any inclination to do good, it appeared only in what he did to his own family, and in the care he took to embellish the City of Rome. But the ill he did was not contained in such easie limits, it spread its self over all Christendome, which did lament to see the Church provided of so extravagant a Pastor.

In the beginning of his pontificat, he shewed himself much enclined to be well informed of the state of Rome, and the Church Territories; which vigilance of his, at last redounded to the prejudice of all his officers. For they thinking

at first, that his proceeding came from the love of justice, and good order, came all to Rome with instructions and memorials, wherein their wants and the necessities of their places were set out: but all in vain; for when they expected answer and satisfaction, they found that the intention of the Pope was, to refuse all, and to resolve nothing; so that then every one avoided, not only the presence of the Pope, but Rome it self, and all business in it.

This is the general disposition of the Court of Rome, and of Church-men in common; though the Popes Nephews do often give it another face, according as their designs and thoughts are, which being as different as the honours of one Pope from another, fortune, not merit, raising both Popes and Nephews to this great command, We may say, that things in Rome are rather performed by masked and counterfeited persons, than by natural ones. As one of my friends, who lives well, and is one of the best Church-men in the Court of Rome, is used to say, that when once he had put on the habit of a Priest, he could hardly discern his own nature, nor know himself with comparison to what he was before. Which shews evidently, that Church-men have certain clove wayes of treating, particular to themselves, that must make those that have to do with them, stand upon their guard, and use all their policy.

In the beginning of his pontificate, he showed himself much inclined to be well informed of the state of Rome, and the Church. Tutors, which vigilance of his, at last rebounded to the prejudice of all his officers. For they, thinking

Il Nipotismo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPE'S

NEPHEVS.

The First Part.

The SECOND BOOK.

The Contents.

IN which is discoursed, of the first bringing the Nipotismo into Rome, which happened under Sixtus the fourth, too much inclined to favour his kindred. Of the lascivious life, and of the death of Cardinal Peter his Nephew. Of the government of the Church transferred to Jerome, Peters brother. Of the number of Sixtus his Nephews. Of the selling of many Jewels. Of the murmurs of the Romans against this Pope. Of the succession of Innocent the eighth to the Popedom. How he was naturally averse from his kindred.

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 and how he was inclined to favour his kindred.
 Of the short life of Urban the seventh, Sixtus
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fourteenth. What was his inclination to his Nephews. Of the election of Innocent the ninth. Of his proceedings and death. Of the election of Clement the eighth; and of what he did for his kindred. Of the desire of Leo the eleventh, successor to Clement, to make his family great. Of the election of Paul the fifth. Of his life and actions, and how he advanced his kindred. How Gregory the sixteenth succeeded to Paul the fifth, and of his great affection to his kindred.

NOW we must look back, and return to *Sixtus* the 4th, who first opened a door to the *Nepotismo*, and who by introducing his kindred, brought at the same time ambition and riches into *Rome*; the riches were for his Nephews, and the ambition he left as an inheritance to all Church-men; and it is now one of the greatest mischiefs that oppresseth the Church.

'Tis not to be wondered at, that I begin the History of the *Nepotismo*, from the time of *Sixtus* the fourth, since he was the first that delivered up *Rome* and the *Popedome* in prey to his Nephews, to the wonder and astonishment of the whole world.

He was then the first introducer of the *Nepotismo*, and so indulgent a one, that to favour his kindreds interest, he had forgot himself, and the Church, thinking of nothing, but of the means how to advance them to their satisfaction; from whence the murmurs of the people were so great in *Rome*, that many Confessors were faine to give

over their Function, that they might not hear the peoples complaints against the Pope and his kindred: So that it was spread through Europe, that Rome had as many Popes as Sixtus had Nephews.

This Pope, immediately after his election, made two Cardinals; viz. *Peter Riario*, whom many suspected to be his Bastard, having always been educated, with great care by him, in the same Monastery; the other was *Julian*, son of *Raphad de la Rovere*, brother to the Pope, and had been first Bishop of *Carpentras*, then was made Cardinal by his brother, and at last came to be Pope, under the name of *Julius* the second, as we shall relate in due place.

Sixtus gave to the Cardinal, *Peter Riario*, all that was in his power to give, adding Abby upon Abby, and revenue upon revenue, till he had made him so rich in Church-lands, that he lived most splendidly, and seemed to be born to waste a greater fortune; Plays, Balls, Dances, and such pastimes, were the ornaments which he bestowed upon his Ecclesiastical dignity, being perswaded, that pomp and vanity were becoming the Majesty of a Cardinal.

He lived but two years in this loose life; in which time 'tis thought he spent, in Treats, and Balls, and such like diversions, above two hundred thousand Duckats of gold, besides seventy thousand which he owed at his death, and which were never payed: He dyed at the age of 28. years, to the great regret of his Uncle, his disease having been caused by his debauchery, as the Physicians testified.

Six months before he dyed, the Pope, whose continual study it was, how to make him great, declared and proclaim'd him his Legat over all *Italy*; not that any urgent business did require such a Function, but onely that he might give him an occasion of shewing his grandeur, and receiving more pleasure in those triumphs and receptions, he was upon this score to have bestowed upon him by the *Italian Princes*; who to humour the Pope, forgot no honour they could think of, towards the person of his Legat; and could not indeed have done more to the Pope himself; particularly in *Venice*, *Milan*, and *Padua*, he was received with so extraordinary a pomp, that it was almost incredible.

Great was the delight which he took in these publick honours; but much greater were the pleasures, which he tasted in secret, having ordinarily, amongst his Attendants, five or six *Russians*, whose business it was to satisfy his appetite, though never so inordinate. Being at last come back to *Rome*, to the possession of his old Mistress, he ended his dayes amongst them, and went to a new world, whether of pleasure or of pain; God knows.

But the Popes affection to his kindred was not buried in his grave; for he made his Brother *Jerome* succeed in his favour and fortune, which he rather increased than diminished; for he made him Lord and Sovereign of *Avola* and *Forlì*; and gave him the government of all the state of the Church, besides other important Offices.

This *Jerome* was a quite contrary disposition

to his Brother, being naturally severe in words and deeds, and averse from all pleasures but hunting. He married *Catharina*, natural daughter to *Galeazzo*, Duke of Milan, and *Sixtus* made *Alexander*, the son of the said Duke, Cardinal into the bargain, contrary to the young mans inclination, which was rather to marriage, than to a single life.

But the inordinate passion of this Pope did not rest in all this, for his ambition of having kindred to advance was such, that not being content with that great number of true Nephews that he had, he substituted and adopted some, that were no relation to him at all, to whom he gave an infinity of places and commandes.

He gave to *Leonard*, his brothers son, a natural daughter of King *Ferdinand* in marriage, and made him Prefect of Rome: And he being dead, he immediately transferred that honour and place to another Nephew, called *John de la Rovere*, brother to the Cardinal *Julian*, giving him besides, the Propriety of the States of *Sora* and *Sinigaglia*.

This *John* had by *Giovanna*, daughter to *Frederick*, Duke of *Urbino*, a son, who was *Francesco Maria della Rovere*, who after the death of *Gnido Ubaldo*, his Uncle, who died without male issue, succeeded by adoption, and in the right of his Wife, to the Dukedom of *Urbino*.

Besides these, *Sixtus* made Cardinals the two brothers, *Christopher*, and *Dominio de la Rovere*, who lived in *Turin*, under the protection of the Duke of *Savoy*, though they were Sovereigns of *Vico Nuovo*, and other Estates in *Italy*.

Besides,

Besides, he made *Jerome Baso*, his Sisters son, Cardinal; as likewise *Raphael Samson*, son to a sister of *Pietro Riarin*, whom he promoted to that Dignity, when he was but seventeen years old, upon condition, that he should change his name, and take that of the Popes Family.

This Pope had so much kindred, and was so inclined to advance them, that he often granted the same thing to two different persons, having forgot that he had granted it to the first.

But amongst all his inventions to enrich them, this was one of the best: In the beginning of his Pontificat, he made, as if he had a design to pay the debts, left upon the Church by the precedent Popes, *Eugenius*, *Nicolas*, *Calistus*, *Pius*, and *Paul*; but pretending want of money to do it, he compassed his design by this means.

Paul the second, his predecessor, had alwayes had a great inclination for the publick pomp and state of the Popedom, and therefore strove to make the Ornaments of the Popes person and head the richest that was possible for him; to which end; in the Miter, which serves at their Coronation, and other publick ceremonies, he had caused above the worth of a million in precious Stones to be set, having bought up (all the world over) the best Diamonds, Sapphires, Rubies, Emeralds, Chrysolites, &c. that could be had for money; so that afterwards, when he came out in publick, he looked like another *Apollo*, with a Majesty more divine than humane, being himself very tall, and of a comely port and presence.

Sixtus, who having been brought up in the severity

severity of a Monastick life, did little esteeme that outward pomp, which *Paul*, his predecessour, so much prized, caused these precious Stones to be sold, under pretence of discharging such debts, as the Church was lyable to for his predecessours.

The Jewels were soon sold, and the money consigned into the hands of his Nephews; but the debts were never payed, though the Jewels had been sold to that end: And that which is worth relating is, that the Pope answered every one; that came to demand any thing due to them; that he had already payed the others, that he was sorry it was not their fortune, to come sooner, and that the money had proved short to discharge so many debts: So that the poor Creditors were faine to go away cheated, and yet knew not whom to complain of.

The *Romans* murmured strangely, against this greediness of the Pope and his kindred, and so much the more, because that they had not yet been accustomed to see a Popes passion; for his kindred make him rob and plunder the Church. They wondred what example *Sixus* could have for his proceedings, for none of his predecessours had hitherto shewed so little moderation, but in providing for their kindred, had kept some measures. Neither could his education furnish him with this ambition and covetousness, for he had been brought up in a Convent, amongst Religious persons, who professed voluntary poverty, and to whose principles he seemed to be so inured, as not to be able to forsake them: For all the while he managed publick business, before he was a Cardinal,

dinal, it was with a great deal of candour and disinterestment that he did it; and when he came to be made Cardinal, he was so far from keeping a Court, and living in that splendour, which others thought became that dignity, that his Family and Retinue looked rather like a Convent, than like a train of Attendants. But as soon as he was Pope, he changed of a sudden, and lived like a Prince, never troubling himself at what the world said of him, but cared only to please himself, and make his kindred great.

Sixtus being dead, *Innocentius* the eighth was made Pope, in the year 1484. being of the noble Family of *Cibo*, which hath had many eminent persons in it. This Pope, remembring the complaints of the *Romans* against his predecessor, for being too indulgent to his kindred, resolved to be very cautious in that point, and give no occasion of scandal that way: Which he observed so well, that when any one of his kindred came to *Rome*, and that he had notice of it, he would say, *Our kindred had much better stay in Geneva without us, than come to Rome for our sakes*; and indeed he was very reserved to them: For to *Mauritius Cibo*, who was a very accomplish'd Gentleman, he gave nothing; but the Government of the Dutchy *Spoleto*, and made him President of the State of the Church Employments, which in those dayes were not of any great honour or profit, though now they are both rich and honourable.

So he made *Lawrens Cibo*, his Nephew, Cardinal, but with very little authority, forbidding him to

to meddle with publick busines of importance, without being called to it. And yet was he forced, as it were, to honour him thus far; for many whispering about the Court, that he was a Bastard, he was fain to shew the world, that he did own him, as being lawfully born of one of his Cozens; which he proved by a process and strict examination before Cardinal Balbo a Venetian, and one, who had no wayes interest to favour the Family of Cibo.

The greatest advantage that this Pope procured his Family, was, that he married *Francesco Cibo* with *Magdalen* of *Medicis*, sister of *Leo* the tenth that was afterwards, giving him the County of *Anguillara*, which was not of any importance in those dayes, and making him Captain General of the Forces of the Church: And in this he ended all the favours that he ever shewed his Family, which was very noble besides.

Alexander the sixth succeeded *Innocentius* in the Popedom, who was a barbarous, lascivious Pope, making no difficulty of bringing desolation upon the Church, and imbrewing his hands in innocent blood, so advance and make great his kindred. In the reign of this Pope, the *Ravennans* used to say, That the Emperours had taught tyranny, and the Popes practised it.

He was cruel, covetous, and insatiable, in heaping riches together: He spent his retired hours all in lascivious pleasures, taking great delight to be embraced and caress'd by fair Ladies, whence the numbers of his Bastards was very great; many taking from thence occasion to say, That he
bad

had filled Rome with Bastards, and Spain with Whores. 'Tis true, that he declared for his Heirs onely, four male children, and two female: And though he used to change Ladies often, for variety and greater pleasure, yet he gave himself up to *Vanoccia*, a Roman Curtizan, whom he loved as his lawful Wife, and with whom he would sport and toy in publick, keeping her at his table; and in his house, as if she had been his true Wife, and this while he was Archbishop and Cardinal.

Being made Pope, in the year 1492. the second of August, he introduced into Rome, not a *Nipism*, but rather a *Filiolismo*, nay indeed, a *Bastardismo*, that is, a company of Bastards, whom he brought with him, in his return from his Legation in Spain: And his first way to make him great was, by force of Arms, making league with this Prince, then with that, then with another, but still upon these conditions, to give Principalities, which he nam'd, to his bastard sons.

For this end, he joyned in a confederacy, which proved fatal to all Italy, with *Lewis* the twelfth of France, with the Catholick King, the *Venetians*, and the *Florentines*; the Conditions of which League were, that they should dispossess the true and ancient Owners of the Provinces of *La Romagna*, *La Marca*, and *Umbria*; and that the whole should be made over to *Cesar Borgia*, the Popes son; who to this end had laid aside his Cardinals Cap, and taken in marriage *Charlotte* of *Albret*, daughter to the King of *Navarre*, and allyed to the French King, and divers other great Princes.

But

But this design having taken no effect, because of the disputes, that rife between the *French* and the *Spaniards*, about the dividing of the Kingdom of *Naples*, which at last ended in the utter ruine of the *French*, the *Spaniards* remaining Masters of the whole Kingdome; the Pope thought it was easier for him to compass his ends, and establish the Grandeur of his Bastards by great and powerful Alliances.

From hence proceeded, that having promised his daughter *Lucretia*, while he was Cardinal, to a certain *Spaniard*; as soon as he was Pope, he took her away from him, and bestowed her in marriage upon *John Sforza*, Lord of *Besaro*, with whom being also fallen out, he took her away from him, and bestowed her upon *Lewis* of *Aragon*, natural son to King *Alfonse*; joyning thus two Bastards, that they might not reproach one another: And he likewise dying some moneths after his marriage, he gave her to *Alfonse d'Este*, Duke of *Ferrare*, with whom she lived and died. 'Twas in the pomp of her Wedding, that the Pope caused to be celebrated in *Rome*, Turnaments and Tiltings, together with the representation of a hunting Match; and many say, that in the Ball and Dances the Pope danced every night, masked, with some of his intimate Friends.

Of his sons, he made *Godfrey*, the youngest Prince of *Squillace*, a City in *Uterior Calabria*, and the Countrey of *Saint Cassiodorus*: He made *Cesar*, who was the second, Cardinal; and his eldest, named *John*, was by the great entreaties and instances of the Pope, made Duke of *Candia*

in

in Spaine, much against the inclination of the Catholick King; for this *John* he procured in marriage a Bastard daughter of *Alfonse*, King of Naples; and thus he filled the *Vatican* with bastards; whereupon *Pasquin*, with a great deal of reason, call'd it *Il Bastardismo*.

Cesar, his second son, being troubled to see his brother *John* above him, and more beloved by his Father, resolved to take him out of the way; so one night, as *John* was going in Rome about some business, he caused him to be set upon by some of his Confidants, who having stabb'd him cast him half alive headlong into the Tyber; and the same evening a barbarous action, they had supped together, very brotherly, at their Mother *Veneranda* house.

The Pope, who was afraid of incurring the same danger from his son, whose temper he knew to be wicked enough for such any undertaking, was forced to dissemble this inhumane action of the Cardinal; and to make no pursues nor informations about the death of his eldest son.

Cesar, being thus delivered of his brother, began to give himself up to the life of a Soldier, and the practice of Arms, without any consideration of his being a Cardinal; for his greatest drive in murdering his brother was, that he might attain to the dignity of *Consul*, or *Standard-bearer* of the Church, and *Captain General* of the Popes Armies; so that a little after his Favourite, he lay'd off his Cardinals Habit, and the Pope invest'd him with all the honours of his dead brother,

Thus being made General of the Popes Army, he

he united with the French, and married Charlotte of Salins, and had for her portion the Duchy of Valence, from whence he was called, over after Duke Valentian, as being a particular affliction of his own.

With the help of Lewis the twelfth, and of his Father the Pope, he gained a great estate in Italy, his Father being ready to supply him with vast sums of money, which he spent to purchase greatness.

Having driven the Family of the Sforza out of Milan, and put them in prison, by the help of the French King, he made himself Master, with great cruelty, of all the Cities of Le Romagna, except Bologna, banishing and murdering the ancient and true Lords and Masters of them.

The first seized upon, Forlì and Imola, causing the poor young Rinaldi, who was Lord of those places, to fly for safety, and taking prisoner their Mother Catharine, whom he carried in triumph to Rome, exposing to the eyes of the Roman his barbarous cruelties.

From Forlì he passed to Faenza, which City he took by force, putting to death Albert Morfatti, who was Lord of it. A great fire and blood he did the same by Rimini and Pesaro, forcing Niccolò, and John Sforza, to avoid by flight the intemperate cruelty of the death they were sent to undergo, if they fell into his hands. After this, he besieged Sinigaglia, and took it by force, committing infinite acts of inhumanity in it.

With the same course of Victory, though with craft

craft and deceit mingled with force, he deprived *Guido Ubaldo di Feltro* of his Duchy of *Urbino*, making him fly to *Monte*, not without danger of falling into his net by the way.

After this, he led his army against the City of *Camarino*, which he took by force, and put to a cruel death *Giulio Cesare*, and *Venancio Verrani*, who were, and had been, long in possession of it. And with the same ardour and ambition, he fell to persecuting all the neighbouring Princes, in hopes to deprive them of their States.

At last, he turned his rage upon the chiefest Families of *Rome* beginning with the noble Family of the *Gaetani*, who were in possession of great Estates in the Country of the *Volsci*, putting to death *Honorato*, and *Cola Gaetani*.

Next, he fell upon the *Colonna's* Family, and having dispossessed them of their Lands, forced them to fly to *Apulia*, and *Sicily*, where they were extremely pitied by that people, who had a perfect knowledge of their rare deserts.

But while he thought to do the same to the *Ursini*, they having leagued themselves with other Princes, raised an Army in their defence, and having at last encountered his, defeated it, and forced him to fly to *Imola*, or as some say, to *Rome*, where the Pope, being frightened with this sudden blow, had recourse to craft and dissimulation: he treats with the Confederates, gives them such Conditions, that they themselves, even triumpphant, could hardly expect: And having thus lulld them asleep, and made them lay down Armes, in the mean while, *Borgia* having recovered himself, and got a new Army, fell upon

them most cruelly, and persecuting them separately, put to death some, banish'd others; and in a word, used all barbarous means to compass their ruine.

All this while the Pope was taking his delight in the *Vatican*, in *Pamela's* arms, receiving every day with new joy and satisfaction, the news of his Sons crimes.

The Revenue of the Church being not sufficient to maintain such an Army as *Cesar Borcia* was, and withall, to supply the expence of his Court, which was truly Royal and Prince-like, *Alexander* made a new Concede of fourscore Writers of Brieves, selling every piece for two hundred and fifty Crowns of Gold; receiving besides into *Rome* thole *Moors*, that the King of *Spain* had driven out of his Dominions, who to enjoy their liberty, gave him great sums of money. And yet all this seeming inconsiderable he sold divers Cardinals Caps; and at last, for fear of being unprovided of money in some urgent necessity, he resolved to dispatch with poison the richest Prelates of the Court, and amongst them some very rich Cardinals, whose estates he intended to make himself heir to, and to satiate the barbarous greediness of his son.

But Divine Providence, taking compassion of the innocency of so many persons, disappointed this barbarous design most miraculously; for just in the execution of it, the Pope himself was, by the mistake of his Cupbearer, sent out of the world, and his son *Cesar* in extreme danger, And that it happened.

Alexander invited to a Feast, in his Garden of

of *Belvedere*, all the richest Cardinals and Prelates, under pretence of honouring them, and had secretly given order to mingle some poyson with most exquisite Wines, that they were to drink. But the Cup-bearer, in pouring out his Wine into glasses mistook, and poysoned the Pope and his Son *Cesar*. 'Tis true, that some do believe, that the Cup-bearer, did it on purpose, being glad to be the Instrument, that should deliver the State and Church from so much misery, in which they were involved, under this Popes tyranny.

Cesar perceiving himself to be poysoned, presently had recourse to Remedies, and with vomiting, being strong, and in the flower of his Age, freed himself from the poyson, though very violent. 'Tis true, that he remained impotent, and unfit for action, so that his Army immediately crumbled away, for want of his personal assistance to keep them together.

But the Pope, who was already seventy two years old, was not able to resist the strength of the poyson, though all the Remedies imaginable were put in use to save him. So he dyed in the *Vatican*, in the year one thousand five hundred and three.

As soon as the Pope was dead, *Cesar*, his Son, caused himself, and all the Popes Treasure, to be transported to the *Vatican*, under the guard of twelve thousand Souldiers, with an intention, to force the Cardinals to make a Pope of his liking: But he failed in his design; for the Cardinals met in the Convent of *La Minerva*, And *Cesar* having set *Michelotto Gongia*, his great Captain,

to be like them, the people of Rome moved with indignation against such a violence offered to the Cardinals, rose in Armes for their Defence, whereupon *Bor.* is resolved to retire to Naples with his Army, and leave the Cardinals their liberty: who being free, and having celebrated the Popes Obsequies, went into the Conclave to choose his Successor, and after some dispute, agreed in the Person of Cardinal *Pierluigi*, one of the eminentest Prelates of the Court, who took the name of *Pius* the third.

The news of this election being come to *Siena*, which was the Popes native Country, *Pandolfo Petrecci*, who was Tyrant of this City, was extremely troubled and doubting not, but that the Pope would soon drive him away, and set his Country at liberty, so that to be rid of his fear, he procured a Chirurgion to poyson a Sore that the Pope had in one of his Legs; which was done, and the poor Pope dyed, some seven and twenty dayes after his election.

The *Pierluigi* Nephews and Relations to his Holiness, were already flown to Rome, like so many Bees; but before they could get within the gates, they receiv'd the sad news of their Uncles death; so that they were faine to return to *Siena* upon the same Horse, upon which they came to Rome. 'Twas certainly believed, that this Pope would have made another *Nepotismo* in Rome, for he was very tender hearted and kind to his kindred.

To *Pius* succeeded *Jules*, the second brother to *Sixtus* the fourth, who was chosen with so publick

a consent and applause, that he was almost proclaimed Pope before he went into the Conclave; the people receiv'd the news of his Election, with extraordinary demonstration of joy, because of the great esteem they had for his person, Alexander having kept him in banishment from Rome for the space of ten years together, to the displeasure of the whole Court of Rome.

Jules proved a man of a great Soule, and a noble and constant Defender of the Church, and little inclin'd to make his kindred great. 'Tis true, he did own a great deal of kindness for his Relations, but much more for the Church: And did say, *That he would have bestow'd upon them all that he had, if all that he had were not the Church.* Therefore he would never give them any State belonging to the Church; and if *Francesco Maria*, his brothers son, did obtain the Dutchy of *Urbino*, it was, because that *Guido Ubaldo da Feltre*, his Kinsman, did adopt him. Some say, that it was by the Popes persuasions, that *Guido Ubaldo* did this; which though it were true, yet it did not any way prejudice the Church: And if he did bestow *Pesaro* on the same *Francesco Maria*, which State was lately fallen to the Church by the death of *Gio. Sforza*, who dyed without Heirs, it was to pay to the said *Francesco Maria* certaine debts, which he pretended due to him from the church.

Besides, he never gave any extraordinary Authority, to four Cardinals of his own kindred and creating; who were very much displeased and discontented at this his severity.

He answered one day two of his Relations, who were very pressing for an Office, which he would not grant. *You ought to be content with what my Brother did, who lov'd the house of LA Rovere better then the Church.*

In his time Rome was almost without a *Niposismo*: but no sooner was Leo the tenth raised to this great honour, but things began to run in another stream; for this Pope, though otherwise very worthy of such an Elevation, yet was he no sooner settled in his Dignity, but he began to project the greatness and advancement of the house of the *Medicis*. And first he bestowed upon *Julian* his Brother, the Office of *Consul*, or Standard-bearer to the Church, together with other charges and places; Then he called most of his kindred to Rome, making them Cardinals, and bestowing Dignities upon them. So that the *Niposismo* began to take a new possession of Rome and the Church.

Leo undertook, by the means of the Emperour *Maximilian*, to make his brother *Julian* Lord of *Siens* and *Lucca*, pretending to add to his Domination the Duchies of *Urbino* and *Ferrara*: But *Julian* dying in the interim, the Pope transferred his kindness upon his brother *Lawrens*, and attempted the execution of this his design in his favour, by the means of the Emperour *Charles* the fifth, who was newly come to the Empire. Besides, he put into his hands the Government of the City of *Florence*, with this condition, that he should undertake nothing, without the advice and consent of the Citizens.

Then he enriched him with all the Honours

and

and Officers his brother had employ'd in the Church-State; and yet desirous every day to make him greater, and to satisfy the instant prayers of his Mother *Alfonso*. He made war with *Francesco Maria della Rovere*, Duke of *Urbino*; and having sent an Army against him, under the Command of *Renzo de Lere*, he took his Duchy from him, and invested with the title of Duke of *Urbino* *Lawrens* his Nephew; the poor Duke and his Lady being constrained to fly to *Marina* for refuge.

With the same intention, though not with the same success, he strove to pick a quarrel with *Alfonso*, Duke of *Ferrara*; but he, being a Prince experienced in war, and under the protection of a strong City, easily defeated the Popes design and artifices.

Lawrens being dead, the Pope sent the Cardinal of *Medici* to *Florence*, to govern that City; and in him first began to relent that great ardour, with which he had hitherto pursued the advancement of his family, giving himself over to other Employments, much more necessary, and more becoming a Prelate; whose care was not only to be bounded within the walls of *Rome*, but over all *Christendome*.

Adrian the sixth was *Leo's* Successour, he had been the Emperour *Charles* the fifth his Tutor, and was created Pope the year of our Lord 1529. being then in *Victoria*, a City of *Spain*: As soon as he received the news of his Election, he embarked at *Terracina*, and came to *Genoa*; where having received the Complements of Ambassadors

doers of all parts, he came in great triumph to Rome.

This Pope was indeed too severe with his kindred; and under him, the Court of Rome pass'd from one extremity to another: for his Predecessours gave all to their Nephews, and he refus'd to give them even that which they deserved; and for this reason he was blam'd, not only by the Court, and foreign Ambassadors, but also by the common people, as being unnatural and clownish.

There was in *Siena* one of his Cousins, sons, maintained there in his studies by the Pope's, who being moved with the ambition of rising under his Uncles Pontificat, came to Rome without order; but the Pope no sooner had notice of it, but he commanded (without being prevail'd upon to see him) that he should instantly be carried back again upon a hackney Horse; giving order to his Confessor, to tutor him sharply for being so bold; and bidding him remember to take from his Uncle, an example of modesty and temperance, and apply himself strongly to his study, and the practise of vertue, which would advance him without help of his kindred, or at least very little.

Many others of his kindred, even his Nephews, came from *Germany* to Rome, with a design to enrich their fortunes, as other Popes Relations had done; but they soon found they had abus'd themselves, for the Pope, angry at their journey sent them all back, with no other Present, then each of them a woollen Sute, and just as much money as would suffice to bear their charges.

charges. Nay, even to one, who out of necessity was come a foot, he refused to give any more, then would just defray his expences on foot back againe. It is true, that some Cardinals were very Noble to them. This Pope was continually blaming the Prodigality of those who had bestowed such great riches upon the Church. In the year that this Pope liv'd, Rome was so afflicted and visited with Warre, Famine, and Plague, that it cannot be remembered without tears, and the people very unjustly laid all the fault upon the Pope, all months being open to clamour against him, and sing the Latin Verse:

Semper de Sociis diruta Roma fuit.

To Adrian succeeded Clement the Seventh of the Family of the Medici, who conserving the wonted ambition of this Family, increased their creyes and power with all his industry, in so much that after he had been imprison'd, and extraordinary ill us'd by the Emperour Charles the fifth, he nevertheless entered into a confederacy with him, upon condition that he should give his bastard Daughter, Margaret in Marriage to Alexander of Medici, Laurens his Son, and by force of Arms oblige the Florentines to acknowledge him for their Lawful Prince. All this was accordingly executed, the Emperour having sent the Prince of Orange with a very great Army to settle the Medici in their new principality.

And Clement not content with this, as soon as the Emperour was gone into Spain, made a new league with Francis the first of France, and

to strengthen it. Henry the Second, the Dauphin of France, married Catherine of Medicis Daughter to *Lawrence*: the wedding was kept at *Marsailles*, where the king and the Pope were both present.

The Pope having thus happily settled his family, returned to Rome, and there died: in September 1534. And in the same year in the Month of October, Paul the Third was chosen to fill his place, with great joy and applause of the people of Rome. He was *Alexander Farnese* Cardinal, and one who shewed himself worthy of so eminent a dignity.

His first work was to find out means, to advance his Family; and therefore in December following he created two of his Nephews Cardinals; one *Alexander Farnese*, Son to *Pietro Luigi Farnese* his own Son, for the Pope had been married before he was Cardinal; and the other *Guido Ascanio Farnese* *Cassiano* his daughters Son. *Alexander* being suddenly dead, the Cardinal *Hippolito Medici* was made Vice-Chancellor of the Church, and Vice-Chamberlain after the death of Cardinal *Spinola*. Thus from day to day, as places and offices became vacant, the Popes Nephews were sure to have them.

Paul was very desirous to procure a meeting between the Emperour and the King of France, where he desir'd to be present in person also: which thing being carried on by his Legat, Cardinal *Carpi* was well accepted and agreed of by both Princes. The Town of *Nizza* in *Provence*, but belonging to the Duke of *Savoy*, was chosen for the place of meeting, as being conveniently situated upon the Sea side.

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The Pope, though old, was the first that came to the place appointed, having endured very great inconveniences in his journey; and yet he was disappointed at last of his desires; for these two Princes having penetrated into the Popes design, found that it was not out of any love to Christianity, but only out of a fond affection to his family that he had desir'd their company. So they refused to see one another in his presence, but came separately, and kiss'd the Popes feet, with no small mortification to his Holiness, being thus deluded and almost deluded.

And indeed this interparty was not desired nor procur'd by the Pope, either with a design of appeasing the differences in Religion, or of making a League betwixt the Christian Princes against the Turk, though this were the pretext, but with a purpose to get *Margaret of Austria* the widow of *Alexander Medic*, for *Ottavio Farnese* his Grandchild; and following the example of *Clement the Seventh*, give *Victoria*, afterwards married to *Guido Ubaldo Duke of Urbino*, his Niece, to some Prince of the blood of France, having chosen out the Duke of *Perdusme*, who was a young Prince of great merit and hopes: but for this time the Pope was forced to return to Rome without having effected his designs, as the King of France went to his own kingdom, and the Emperour to *Marseilles*, where he visited the French King.

Some time after the Pope obtained from the Emperour the City of *Novarra* for his Son *Pietro Luigi*, and made up the match between his Grandchild *Ottavio* and the Princess *Margaret* Daughter

Daughter to the Emperour, and widow of *Alexander Medici*, this done, the Pope undertook the recovery of the City of *Camerino*, which he pretended to be devoted to the Church by the death of *Gianani Maria Varrano*, who had receiv'd the investiture of that place from *Leo the Tenth*; and dyed without any male children, and upon this Title made warre against the young *Guido Ubaldo da Feltra*, who by the Womens side pretended a right to it; but not being able to maintaine it, was fain to fly and leave the place to the Pope, who having taken it, presently gave the investiture to his Grand-child *Ottavio Farnese*; making him Duke of *Camerino*, and Receivour General of the Church, having before made him Prefect of *Rome* in the place of the Duke of *Urbino*.

But this Popes ambition swell'd much higher, for he went about to buy the Dutchy of *Milaine* of the Emperour with the Churches money, and make an unalienable Patrimony of the Family of the *Farneses*. But the Emperour, though very necessitous and extremely solicited by the Pope with a vast summe of ready money, was nevertheless so prudent as not to dismember from his Empire so considerable a part of it.

Besides this the Pope gave to his Son *Pietro Luigi*, against the consent of almost all the Cardinals, the noble Cities of *Parma* and *Placencia* in *Lombardy*, which were Fiefs of the Church. The said *Pietro Luigi* was murdered by the principal Citizens of *Placencia* in a conjuration layed and carried on by the Emperours order; who all along refused to confirm *Pietro Luigi* in this new Principality, the Pope pretending that the Empe-

roure

reuer should acknowledge him for lawful Lord and Master of these Cities, which he was so far from doing, that he endeavour'd to take them from him; whereupon the Pope was forced, that he might support his Son, to side with the French, who failed not to settle his Grand-child *Clauis*, though with this condition that he should renounce *Cambray*, and restore it to the Church, and be content with *Pavia* and *Placencia*, for which he should pay every year seven thousand Crowns to the Apostolick Chamber.

Thus the *Nipotismo* was in great credit and Authority in *Pauls* time: for this Pope spared nothing to make them great, alienating the Churches Lands, and maintaining them in the possession of their acquisitions with the Churchs Money, which stirred the indignation of all Christendome, and made the Hereticks, who by this time were multiplied like Grasshoppers, take from them an occasion to deny the Popes authority and primacy.

Julius the third, who succeeded *Paul*, preserv'd his *Nipotismo* in an handsome condition and rank, but was not so furiously transported with Ambition to settle them in Dukedomes and Principalities. His humour was gay and merry, a good companion, and one that lov'd to eat and drink well with his friends.

And yet though this jovial inclination of his made him little inclin'd to warlike attempts, he nevertheless sent great Succours to the Duke of *Florence*, *Cosmo*, in his Warre against the *Sienezes*: and this because the said Duke had promis'd him to make his Brother *Baldwin* Marquis of

Monte

about his Father; which thing was not only ex-
cused, but besides, the Duke's Daughter was pro-
mised in Marriage to Robert de Montfort, Baldwin
his Son: She was afterwards married to Alphon-
sus Duke of Ferrara.

Guido made also friends his Nephews Cardinals
to wit, Christopher de Montfort, Raimond de la Cor-
gon, Edouard de Montfort, Germain de Montfort,
and Robert de Montfort. To these he was
very liberal; but to say true, not prodigal as his
Predecessors had been. To wit, he did what
he could, to make his Brother Baldwin Duke of
Combruggis: He printe the Church of so good a
Star, but the Cardinals oppos'd him so vi-
ciously, that he was faine to desist from his design.

He being dead, the very maps of the Ni-
perishable World with him, yet in the year 1555
Monsieur the Second was made Pope, who would
never believe that any of his kindred should come
near Rome, nor not his own Brother. Moreover,
he would never suffer that two Nephews of his,
who before his Election liv'd with him, follow-
ing their Studies in France under his care, should
receive any wages as his Nephews; and he forbid
them to sit out of doors, least in going to School
they should be owned in the streets, and receive
the Compliments of persons of quality.

They that knew much of his mind while he
was Cardinal, said after his death, That his in-
tention was altogether to apply some remedy
to the ambition of the Popes; and that he had par-
ticularly resolv'd to give to his Brother and Kin-
dred but just as much as would maintain them like
ordinary Gentlemen; but not so much as a sim-
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ple Barony, much less Dukedoms and Principa-
lities; and to this he would have the advice and
consent of the whole College of Cardinals, hav-
ing a firm purpose of making most secure de-
crees, by which the Popes should be bound, and
hindered from giving any thing to their kindred
without the consent of all the Cardinals.

But while he was intent upon so good a work,
he was surpris'd by death twenty dayes after his
election; so that in so short a time he did nei-
ther good nor harm to the Church.

To him succeeded Paul the Fourth, of the
House and Family of Caraffa. In the same year
1555. This Pope was one of the most fan-
tastical ill humour'd men that all the world
could afford. He presently made his Brothers
Son Carlo Caraffa Cardinal, and to him he
gave so much Authority, that it seem'd that the
Popes will depended upon his pleasure. He
excommunicated Mark Antonio Colonna, and Af-
fraid his Son, under divers pretexts, but indeed
only to take from them those offices and honours
which they had in Rome, and to seize upon all
their Revenues within the Territories of the
Church, which was severely executed; the
Pope at the same time giving the investiture of
all their estates to Giovanni Count of Montorio his
Brothers Son, giving him the Title of Duke of
Palermo, which place he immediately went about to
fortifie, that it might hold out against the forces
the Colonneses were raising to recover their lands,
as it last they did.

A little after he made Antonio Caraffa the
Earles Brother Marquess of Moncibello, a place
which

which he had deprived the right owner, the Earl of *Begis*, of, as being contumacious, and for having, as the Pope said, ingrossed that money, which the King of France had lent for the War in *Italy*.

The Nephews of this Pope became at last so insolent by their Uncles indulgence, that they did rob, spoyle, ravish, kill, and in a word commit all sorts of crimes with impunity: Exercising so many cheats and frauds upon the poor people, that not only they made all the World cry out against them, but at last moved the indignation of their own Uncle, and provoked him to be severe to them, driving them away out of *Rome* and depriving them of all honour and dignity.

Pius the Fourth of *Milan*, of the Family of the *Medici*, but of that branch that was then settled in *Milan* was chosen *Papal* Successor: and no sooner had he taken possession of the *Papal* dome, but he set to frame a proces and impeachment against the Nephew of his Predecessor, with a design to punish them severely: which he executed, but with an affront to the holy Character of a Pope, for he made as if he had pardon'd them all their misdemeanours, which he confirmed with an Oath, so which the *Cardinals* trusting came to *Rome*, but no sooner were they there, but by the Popes order they were clap'd up in prison, and having undergone a new trial, were all condemned to die. The Cardinal *Carlo Carossa* was strangled, the Earls of *Montorio* and of *Alife*, and *Leonardo di Candine* were beheaded. Thus the City was as it were purged of these abominati-

out which the Nipotismo had filled it with.

After this the good Pope Pius, that he might not come short of the Piety of his Predecessours, introduced a new Nipotismo; for above five and twenty Nephews, brothers and sisters children, were in upon him, of whom he refused none, but raised them as high as it was possible for him to do, making them all rich, and allying them with great families: but his kindnes did particularly extend to *Giulio Antonio Sorbelloni* his Nephew, who seemed to be born to heap riches together.

But Pius the fifth who succeeded Pius the Fourth, was not at all of this Humour, for he was absolutely averse from any such unjust wayes of advancing his kindred, having hardly condescended to make *Michael Bonello* his Sisters son Cardinal; and certainly he had never done it, if all the Cardinals unanimously had not raised in him a scruple of Conscience, by saying, that he refused to promote one who was most worthy of that Honour. Therefore at last, and as it were by force, he declar'd him Cardinal, but with a strict Order not to meddle with State affairs without Consultation.

Gregory the Thirteenth of the Family of the *Boni Compagni*, who was chosen Pope after the death of Pius in the year 1572, followed not so good a path, but declin'd to a great indulgence for his Relations. First, he presently made *Philippo Boncompagni* his Nephew Cardinal, to whom he gave many Abbeys which were vacant in his predecessors time.

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Besides he call'd about him all his Nephews, and Cozens, to whom he gave Offices, Dignities, Governments, and Lordships, enough to make the great. 'Tis true, he shewed no great ambition of making them great Princes, because he saw little probability of a good success, but he heaped Abbies and Prelatures upon them as many as they pleased.

He dyed 1585 the tenth of April, and had for Successor upon the 24th of the same Month, *Sixtus* the Fifth, of the poor Family of the *Peretti* having been a Monk of that conventual Order, of which *Sixtus* the fourth, who lov'd his kindred so well, was.

In his first beginning he seem'd a little averse from his kindred not that he despis'd them, but he shewed no desire of making them Princes; but they that made any foundation upon this exterior were much deceiv'd, for there never was a Pope that had a greater love for his relations than this, and all well considered, we shall find, that *Sixtus* the fifth gave away much more to his Nephews, than *Pixius* the Fourth; for his Family of *La Rovere*, was very Noble, and liv'd splendidly, before his assumption to the pontificate, whereas the Family of *Cirelli* was so poor, that they had not bread to eat, being fain to beg here and there.

One of *Sixtus* the Fifth his Sisters was a Laundress in *Escoli*, and came to see her Brother in Rome upon an Ass, which was led by an Halter by her eldest Son, and yet for all this he left them all rich and great. He lov'd this Sister of his *Camilla*.

most tenderly; insomuch that he could never see her enough; and for her sake in the first month of his Popedom, he made one of her Sons Cardinal, giving him his own Cardinals Cap, and calling him by the name of Cardinal *Montalto*, though he was but one and twenty years old. To him *Sixtus* gave in Abbeys and Church lands above five and thirty thousand Duckats a year, which was no small revenue, in the hands of one, who lov'd much to be thrifty.

To the other Brother, who had led the Ass, he gave the chiefeft offices and places of *Rome*, and married him with great pomp and solemnity, to a rich Roman Lady.

He assign'd 20 thousand Crowns a year to his said sister *Camilla*, who having alwayes before her Eyes, her antient poor condition, could never be brought to lead a great Ladies life, but liv'd allwayes like a country Woman.

Her two Daughters were both married, one to *Virginio Ursino*, and the other to the high Constable of the Kingdome of *Naples*; *Colonna*, to one of which he gave for portion, a hundred thousand Crowns; and made a Cardinal of the family of the *Colonna*, together with great Offices and Revenues.

Besides this, he made *Alexander Beretto* his brothers Son Cardinal, and assign'd him a revenue of twenty thousand Duckats in Offices within *Rome*, and in the Popes Territories, in which he had great number of Benefices.

In a word, *Sixtus* when he dyed left to his Family the sum of a hundred and fifty thousand Duckats yearly revenue, besides money in specie,

and the wonder of this was, that it was all done without any prejudice to the Church; but so much to the contrary; for he surpassed in the greatness of his edifies in Rome, the ancient Romans, and yet left behind him five millions of Crowns to the Church, to the astonishment of all Christendom.

There is little or nothing to be said of Urban the seventh, who succeeded Sixtus in the year 1590, because he liv'd but 13 days after his election. But his kindred of the house of Castagna in Genoa, having suddenly heard the news of his elevation, hastened to Rome; but three days journey from Genoa, they receiv'd the news of his death: Whereupon they were forced to return home, and keep close for a great while, to avoyd the derision and mocking of their Enemies. And this was, because that they had gone out of the City in great pompe and state; beginning already to curty themselves like so many Princes; but their pretensions vanish'd with the Popes death.

Nevertheless the Pope in so short a time shew'd himself kind; for he left them some considerable Legacies, having given away to the company of the Nuntiata, whole Protector he had been, all that was in his power to distribute.

But that which Urban could not compass in thirteen days, Gregory the fourteenth his Successor did in ten months. This Pope was of the family Sfondrata of Milan, and very desirous of adding to the greatness of his family. And because that Paulo Emilio Sfondrato was at the time of his creation

creation in Milan, the Pope refus'd to dispatch any business before his coming to Rome, where presently he was made Cardinal, and had twelve thousand Crowns a year assigned him the same day besides a great number of Abbies and Offices, which his Uncle gave him a little after.

The Pope was us'd to pass most part of his time with his Cardinal; no business passing, but what was sifted between them; the Pope often saying to him, Nephew, make a good purse before I die: And the Nephew, who understood the means, did not fail to obey him, and out of every hundred took ninety for himself; the rest he left to the Church, and that was always the worst money.

Two months after, he made the Count Sforza, another of his Nephews, General of the holy Church, and sent him to the Wars of France, having first married him with the daughter of the Prince of Mass, and made him Duke of Montemarino, which Duchy the Pope pretended to be devolved to the Church, ever since the death of *Alfonso Piccolomini*, Duke of the said place, whom the great Duke of Florence put to death; and the Pope immediately confiscated all that he enjoyed in the Territories of the Church, pretending, that the said *Alfonso* was a Rebel to the Church: Whereupon he gave his Nephew the investiture of the Duchy.

His Nephew the ninth succeeded to Gregory the fourteenth, in the year 1509. who lived but two months, and by consequence was not in a capacity of leaving much to his Relations; many of them

nevertheless were already come from *Bologna*, the Popes native Country; amongst whom he made one Cardinal, and that was *Antonio Faccini*; but he gave him no other Office, then that of a *Referendary*, there being no other of any consideration vacant. 'Tis true, I believe, that he thought not of dying so soon, for else he would have provided more largely for this Cardinal, and the rest of his kindred; His death was very unwelcome to them, all having begun already to build Castles in the air; but particularly to one of them, who pretended to be General of the Churches Forces, to marry a Princess, and be revenged of all his Enemies; but he came so far short of all, that in stead of the equipage of a Gentleman, that he came to *Rome* in, he returned in a pock-plight to *Bologna*.

A month after, *Clement* the eighth of the House of *Aldobrandino* of *Florence* was chosen Pope, with an incredible joy of all the people of *Rome*: He himself was born in the City of *Fano*.

This Pope found his Family full of noble and ancient Blood, but as empty of Riches; therefore calling them to him, he began by his Predecessours example, to give them Offices, Places, and Dignities, but with a certain moderation; and not precipitating his Favours, as the others had done, but giving to day one thing, and to morrow another, he contented them all without scandal.

In his first promotion of Cardinals, he created two of his Nephews, viz. *Pietro Aldobrandino*, his

his Brother's Son, and *Cinzio Passerelli Strigaglia*, his Sister's Son: and with the help of these two, the Pope did govern all the Church Affairs, desiring every thing should pass by their hands, particularly through Cardinal *Pietro Aldobrandino*, whom he lov'd most cordially, calling him, the Idol of his heart; and often, for fear of contradicting him, he would let him do as he liked.

The charge of General of the Church, was given to *Giovanni Francesco Aldobrandino*, another of his Nephews; in which place he enjoyed, not only all the Prerogatives and Priviledges that had been granted to the other Nephews of Popes, but besides, his Holiness increased his pay by two thousand Crowns a year, and invented new priviledges for him.

In the year 1595. he bought the Marquisat of *Meldola*, which he bestowed upon *Ottavio Aldobrandino*, another of his nephews, declaring him absolute Sovereign of the said place; but yet made him stay in *Rome*, that he might be at hand, & lose no occasions of getting something else from him: at last *Alfonso d'Este*, last Duke of *Ferrara*, happening to dye in the year 1597. the Pope thought to take this Principality for himself, as being devoted to the Church, and resolv'd to give the investiture to his Nephew *Ottavio*; so having held a publick Consistory, in which he declared, that the Dutchy of *Ferrara* was become the Churches patrimony; and immediately ordered Cardinal *Aldobrandino* to raise a powerful Army, and put himself in possession of the said Dutchy, by driving out *Cesar of Este*, who was Heir by

the Will of the late Duke) and was actually in possession: But the Pope pretended that he being a Bastard, was incapable of inheriting.

The Cardinal soon got together a great Army, and so frighted *Don Cesar*, that he was forced to fly to *Modena*, and leave *Ferrara* to the Pope and the Cardinal *Aldobrandino*, after some Articles agreed on between his Uncle and *Don Cesar*, entered the place, and took possession of it in the name of the Church, with little joy to the Inhabitants, who lost a good Master to fall into the hands of Church-men, who change every day their Governments.

As soon as the news of the rendition of *Ferrara* came to the Pope's ears, he began, by all means, to procure the investiture for his Nephew *Ottavio*, for whom he thought the Marquisat of *Melito* but inconsiderable.

But he met with a strange repugnance in all the Cardinals for his design, they having, by a common consent and union, resolved to oppose the Pope's desire, and not endure, that the Church should be depriv'd of so considerable a City, which it had but newly acquired.

The Pope foreseeing, by this reluctance of the Cardinals, that it was a business hardly to be carried in a publick Consistory, forbore to speak of it there, but took another course; for calling the Cardinals one by one into his Chamber, he there signified to them his desire; but they all refused to consent, or be any ways accessory to the alienating so considerable a piece of the Popedom. So that the Pope thought it was not safe to do it with

without them, and by force, for fear of leaving his Nephew involv'd in a continual War, against all the succeeding Popes, and Dux Caron, and therefore he resolv'd to go in person, and take possession in the name of the Church.

A little after, he made another of his Nephews Cardinal, who was *Albano*, Prior of Rome, to whom he gave an infinite number of Benefices. Thus *Clement* did every day do his endeavour to procure riches for his Family, either in lands or moveables, who of these rich were as ready to receive, as their little could be to give, particularly when it was easily known.

His next design was to make his Nephew Cardinal, who succeeded to *Clement*, had not the first good fortune, for being chosen in the year 1664, he liv'd but five and twenty dayes, in which time he projected much, but executed little, amongst other things, he gave out, that his design was not to advance his kindred, but only to continue them in their quality, and make their Estates plentiful and safe; which is a certain moderation, which most of the Popes do affect to shew in their first Administration of the Popedom, for even *Sixtus* the fourth, who gave with so profuse a hand, did still pretend, that he did nothing but what was lawful, and to the advantage of the Church.

This Pope had many Relations in the Family of the Medici, but in that branch which was not come to be Princes; but his Darling amongst them, was *Alexander Medici*, son to his brother *Bernardino*, which *Alexander* had a son of twen-

27 year old, called *Adrian*, which was the Pope's
 Father's name. Whom upon the Pope's death, he
 him, while he was in the city, made him Cardinal,
 and kept him by him to see the very same day
 that he came to Rome, the Pope died, without
 being able to promote him to that degree of hon-
 our; which was a great affliction to all the King-
 doms of Christendom, because he was so young, and
 so good. Now for us to speak of *Pope the fifth*, of the *Pe-
 trine* of *Borghese*, made Pope in 1605, who in the
 instant filled Rome with *Borghese*, of which
 on this Pope was of a most kind nature, and par-
 ticularly to his kindred; amongst whom, whilst
 he was Cardinal, he was wont to spend all his
 Revenue; but his greatest passion was for *Scipio
 Borghese*, his Sister's son, whom he had brought up
 from a child, and made him the Cardinal; and as
 soon as he was made Pope himself, giving him the
 name of Cardinal *Borghese*, by which name he
 was ordinarily called; and did subscribe him-
 self *Scipio*, in all his letters, and in all his
 business. This Cardinal was the interpreter of his Ma-
 jesty's mind, the Mediator of his favours, and the
 Coadjutor in all weighty matters of the State
 and Church. They that expected any kindnesses
 from the Pope, were not to purchase them any
 other way, than by the means of him, who
 commanded and governed the Pope, and all
 things. The Pope, desiring to follow his Predecessors
 steps, and employ his private riches to the publick
 ornament of the City, took care to provide his
 Ecclesiastical Nephews of Benefices and Church-
 lands

lands: and his dearer Kinsmen of Places and Dignities, as they became vacant, so did he bestow them. The plenty, into which this Pope brought his Family, was such, that they themselves did scarce know how to dispose of it, there flowing in upon them, every day, vast fords of money from all parts of the world, to procure, by their means, the Popes favour: Whereupon they, seeing no end of their riches, began, out of a complacence to the Popes humour (who delighted in the ornament of the City) to build certain publick Edifices, so noble and stately, that the King of France, who hath a Kingdom so rich, and powerful, and hereditary, would scarce have undertaken the like, at the expence of his whole Kingdom. The Cardinal began the Fabrick of that Palazzo Borghese, in the Campo Martio, which is not yet ended, and to perfect it, according to the first design, it should require the value of half the Churches Territories: nay, it is said, that in the foundation alone, were spent above two hundred thousand Crowns: for they were fain to demolish great numbers of houses, and level hills, before they could bring the ground to that true evenness, which the design required.

The Popes brothers began two Country houses in pleasure at the same time; one hard by Rome, and a little without the Porta Poncia, the other at Frascati, in the little hills called Mendeagum: and we may easily conclude what treasure was expended in these, by what the Spanish Ambassador said one day to a Gentleman of the Family of Borghese, who straited upon him thither: for

the Gentleman having shew'd one of these letters, asked his opinion of it, and said for answer these words, My King would have and pay for such a monument as this is, so great a gift, for the King in Madrid, in the year 1611.

His Holiness was so overjoyed, to see such princely inclinations in his kindred, that he did nothing but study night and day, how he should enrich them more and more. For this end, he need not to trouble himself much; for his Cardinal Brother, who had the Popedom at his disposition, took all the monies for himself, and the Family of the Borgese, allowing the Pope a small sum, to please himself with the mending of a Statue, or a Church, or some publick Edifice; this Pope having surpassed all his Predecessors, in erecting new Edifices, and procuring by all ways the ornament of the City.

In those days the Nuncio was most triumphant, all the former Popes Nephews having never been invested with so absolute an authority, as that of the Cardinal Borgese, and the rest of his Nephews.

Paul lived sixteen years in the Chair of the Pope, so that the Nuncio had time to give root and foundation to their greatness, as indeed they did, but forgot to strike a nail into the Wheel of Fortune, to hinder it from turning about; and therefore not long after, it began to slide downwards, as we shall declare in time and place.

At last, in the year 1621, Paul dyed, to the great grief of the Romans, who lamented very much his loss; and indeed he was a very good Pastor, though he were a little too liberal of the Wool

Wool of his Flock to his Kindred, for he left to the Prince of Salerno alone, his Nephew, above a hundred thousand Crowns yearly revenue: to the Cardinal as much: besides the vast sums of money layed out in those Buildings we have mentioned: They were thought also, to have vast sums of ready money, unknown to their Uncle: the Cardinal alone being supposed to have above a million in specie: So that Paul left not a farthing to the Church.

His Successour was Gregory the sixteenth, of Bologna, of the noble Family *Ludovisi*, pretty rich but very abundant in Relations and Kindred.

This Pope, before he began to mannage the publick affairs of *Christendom*, resolved first to establish the particular Interest of his House and Family, therefore having seen the example of Leo the tenth, who by reason of the shortness of his life, could not bestow the dignity of Cardinal upon any of his Relations: three dayes after his creation, he made *Ludovico Ludovisi*, his Brothers son, Cardinal: and the same day he made *Oratio Ludovisi*, his brother, General of the Church, though he were absent: and as soon as he came to Rome, he made him Duke of Fano, and assigned him other Lands bought with the Churches money.

The same day he distributed amongst some other Nephews, many considerable Offices, both within and without Rome, though most of those, upon whom they were conferred, were absent: so that it may be said of the *Nipatismo* of this Pope that

that it was great almost before it was born, or at least in its cradle, entering into power and command before it entered into Rome.

The Cardinal *Ludoviso* was he that governed the weighty Affairs, his Uncle depending upon him most absolutely; so that often of Negotiations, and Court business, he would communicate little or nothing to the Pope; and when his Uncle, out of curiosity, would sometimes go about to inform himself how things stood; his Nephew would presumptuously answer him, and say, *What need you trouble your head, eat and drink, and let me alone to serve you.*

Every step of this Cardinal was towards the advancement of his Family; and the Pope, not only did let him alone, but often would exhort him to make hast, least of a sudden he should be depriv'd of the means: which fell out; for the Pope liv'd but seven and twenty months; in which time, the *Ludovisi* minded their business so well, that at their Uncles decease they had amongst them, two hundred and fifty thousand Crowns yearly revenue, besides ready money, and that which they spent in publick buildings: So that this *Nipotismo* does deserve the title, of the most subtle & diligent of all the precedent *Nipotismo's*, if we consider the proportion of their riches, and measure the shortness of the time that they were purchased in.

With all this they much studied publick applause, and to gain to themselves the good will of the people, and Roman Nobility, shewing great respect for them, and offering their service willingly upon all occasions. 'Tis true, there

was

was not much credit given to these demonstrations, because that the Romans were already accustomed to see such Scenes of dissimulation: But nevertheless, their Uncle, neither alive nor dead, was not prosecuted with *Pasquinades*; his government, or rather his Nephews, having not been so tyrannical as covetous. And since the Romans leave them in peace, so will we too, and conclude this book with the death of Gregory the sixteenth.

was mortally credit given to their desponden-
 ons, because that the Romans were already ac-
 cused to the such scenes of dissimulation. But
 nevertheless their blood, neither alive nor dead,
 was not forgotten with Paganini's his go-
 vernment or rather his Nephews, having not been
 to spiritual conversion. And since the Romans
 have been in peace, to will we too, and conclude
 this book with the death of Gregory the 15th.

Il Nipotismo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF THE

POPES

NEPHEWS.

The First Part.

The THIRD BOOK.

The Contents.

IN which is treated, of the election of Urban the eighth to the Popedom. Of the creation and disposition of Cardinal Barbarino a Capucin. Of the Places and Offices given to Don Tadeo. Of the promotion of the two Brothers, Francesco and Antonio Barbarini, to be Cardinals. Of their avidity in getting money. Of some Prelates offended and moved to indignation, so see that their services were so little recompenced by the Pope. Of the Cardinal Filomarini, made

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Arch-Bishop of Naples. Of the inclination of the Barbarini, to carry all things with a high hand. Of some Pasquins made against them. Of the great hatred the Romans did bear them. Of the design of the Barbarini to make themselves great Princes. Of the Title of Cardinal Padrone given to Francesco Barbarino. Of the Duke of Parma his journey to Rome. Of the title of Eminency given to the Cardinal. Of the great riches the Barbarini were in possession of after the death of Urban. Of the reasons, why Cardinal Francesco Barbarini might hope to be Pope. Of there being three Cardinals of this name all at a time. How Innocentius the tenth was Urban's Successour. Of all that passed about the Cardinalship, marriage and banishment of the Prince Pamphilio, the Popes Nephew. Of the authority and government of Donna Olympia; and of her way of treating affairs. Of Innocentius's nearest Relations. Of the promotion of Astalli to the Cardinalship. Of the Railleries, Pasquins, and Discourses, that were held about this promotion. Of Astalli his banishment, and the promotion of Azzollini. Of Innocentius, and the assumption of Alexander to the Popedom. Of Don Mario's journey towards Rome stopped by an express order from the Pope. Of the affront that Don Mario received, in being forced to return to Siena. Of the honour that the Popes kindred did receive in Siena. Of the respect showed them by the State of Venice, and the great Duke of Tuscany. Of the Popes resolution to receive none of his kindred in Rome. Of some presents sent to Don Mario, and

and Don Agostino, in Siena. Of the Popes design and purpose to call all his Relations to Rome: and of all that past in the execution of it. Of an Event full of curiosity, about the History of the Council of Trent, made by Father Palavicino, a Jesuite. Of the murmurs and Pasquins of the Romans too, when they saw the Nipotismo in possession of the Church and City. Of the number of the Popes Relations. Of the Offices, charges and places that they possess, and by what means they grow rich. Of the jealousy that is between them. Of Don Agostino his marriage. Of the great affection the Pope bears him. And of some other particularities full of curiosity and policy.

AND that we have hitherto related, is nothing but the Vigil or Eve of the Nipotismo; now begins the Festival day, in the time of Urban the eighth, of the Family of the Barbarini, who succeeded Gregory the fifteenth, contrary to every bodies expectation, in the year 1623. in the moneth of August.

As soon as the news of his Elevation came to Florence, those few remnants of the Family, who were then under the protection of the great Duke, flew, like so many Bees to Rome (and the Bees are the Barbarini's Coat of Armes) to suck the Honey of the Church; but they left not behind them their Stings, where withall in sucking it, they stung it most bitterly.

Urban in the beginning, shewed not much

tenderneſs for his kindred, though he did openly own, that he would call them about him: And indeed, in this his beginning, and as it were the bloſſom of his Popedom, he did one of the worſt actions of his life, which was the giving of a Cardinals Cap to *Francesco Barbarini*, his Nephew, a Perſonage truly worthy ſo great an honour; being endowed with the ſingular qualities of an exemplary life and integrity, which made him worthy, and more than worthy, of the Popedom it ſelf.

The year after, which was 1624. he made Cardinal, his brother, that was a *Capucin*, and went by the name of brother *Antony Barbarin*, whom the Pope loved entirely; he gave him the title of Cardinal of Saint *Opoſrin*; but he had been ſo accuſtomed to the ſtrictneſs of a *Capucines* life, that being raiſed to this great dignity, he demeaned himſelf with the ſame meannefs as before, he had much adoe to cuſtom himſelf to that great Cope which the Cardinals wear; neither would their wide large Sleeves agree with him, and he had given order to have them made cloſe and ſtreight, after the *Capucins* faſhion: But that that was moſt ridiculous was, that when he ſaluted any body, inſtead of putting off his Hat, he would only put it back with a nod, as the Monks do their Hoods; ſo that once, in the preſence of the *Venerian* Ambaſſadour, it fell backwards to the ground, with no ſmall laughter of the Aſſiſtants: Thus he was the diverſion of the whole Colledge of Cardinals.

Don Tadeo, the Popes other brother, was made General of the Churches Forces, Prefect of Rome, and

and in the long reign of his brother, had so many Civil and Military Offices conferr'd upon him, that he could not remember them himself; the rather, because that he never car'd to exercise the functions of them, so he might receive the revenue, which he forgot not to put up carefully; that is, in a word, he took a good account of the profit, but could give none of the satisfying the obligation those Offices laid upon him.

In the year 1668. the seventh of February, the Pope, that he might more and more fortifie the Family of the *Barbarines*, created another Cardinal of that name, viz. *Antonio Barbarino*, *Francesco's* brother, under the title of *Santa Maria in Aquino*.

These two brothers, though elevated to the same dignity, were nevertheless of a different humour; for one made it his business, to edifie the publick by good actions; and the other, did nothing but scandalize all the world by his vicious deportments; insomuch, that whosoever will weigh the vertues of the one against the vices of the other, shall see, that the ill actions of Cardinal *Antonio*, are far heavier than the good ones of his brother, though his brothers piety be very great.

'Tis true, that when once Cardinal *Antonio* began to frequent the *French*, that he changed, as it were his nature, for of a covetous hater of Learning, he became a generous promoter of Ingenuity, and very officious to all sorts of persons; so that now we may say, that he is a noble Prince, and a good Cardinal, whereas before he was esteemed an ill bred Gentleman, and a wicked Cardinal, and as

much blame and dishonour as he contracted then, so much reputation and credit hath he now gained.

Urban in the beginning shew'd a most exact diligence, in the government of the Church; and in truth, Cardinal *Francesco* and he, did take no small pains in reforming the abuses, as well of the Clergy and Monks, as of the Court and temporal administration; so that Forraign Princes and Nations were very much edified, by the Popes zeal, and Cardinal *Francesco* his sincerity, by which he did endeavour to please every body.

But after five or six years time passed thus in the continual cares of the Pontificat, he began to grow weary, not of doing good, but of doing it so often; therefore leaving the management of the most important Affairs to his Nephews, he began to take his ease, and they taking possession of business, did at the same time engross their Uncles inclinations and intentions, that they did, as it were, bind his will to theirs.

Then the desire of growing rich did so blind them, that night and day they did think of nothing else, but of the means to make themselves Princes, eternize their Family, and fill their Coffers with treasure,

As soon as any Abbey was vacant, it was immediately conferr'd upon one of them, and then as soon as any other good Benifice fell out, it was presented to the other; so that between them they had all that was rich and worth speaking of, at last, both Cardinals, being so full that they could hold no more, would bestow vacant Benifices

fices upon their little Nephews: nay, to above five or six of *Urban's* little Cozens, were given Benefices while they were yet in their Cradles; the precedent Popes Decrees being despised, and by these proceedings, the very bread taken out of the mouths of those Prelates, that had served the Church with zeal and care; which was enough almost to make them desperate; seeing little children, scarce born, preferred to them, who had so much deserts. More than this, I think it may be said, that some Benefices were disposed of to those that were not yet born; for in the Articles of marriage of one of the *Barbarines* with a Lady of the Family of *Colonna*, one was, *That a certain Abby should be given to the first born*; so that in the time of this good Pope, Church lands were bestowed on those, who were not yet in the world, but by imagination; and those that had really, and with great pains, serv'd the Church, were altogether depriv'd of their reward.

A certain Prelate of *Bologne*, who with great zeal had bestirred him in his Ecclesiastical employment, went to *Rome* to receive his recompence, and having presented himself to the *Barbarines*, was desired to stay a little while: This little while proved the space of eight years, in which an infinity of Benefices were vacant, but the good Prelate could get none of them, because that the *Barbarines* divided all amongst themselves, he seeing this, resolved to return home empty as he came; and as he was going out of *Rome*, some body from the *Barbarines* told him, that he ought to expect a little longer, and take a little more patience: To whom, with tears in his eyes he an-

swered, *They must be Saints, and not men, who can see the bread eaten from their mouths by the Barbarines, and not be cast into despair.*

Another, who had stayed as long to no purpose, resolved at last to be gone; and being importun'd by his friend to stay a little longer, answered him thus, *If the Church, dear friend, had as many Popedomes, as the Pope hath Nephews and Coxens, and that there one that did not see somewhere, I might have some hopes; but since there is but one Popedom, I should be a fool to expect any part of it from those, who do not think it enough to divide among themselves.*

Of these examples, I believe, I could make half a dozen Volumes in folio, and all of persons that are now living; but I will not weary the Reader with the Lecture of them; Let it suffice for him to know, that *Urban* never gave any thing for a recompence, to those that had served the Church, except his Nephews had first refused it; and they refused so little, that in the end, all *Urban's* rewards amounted to nothing.

If any body could brag of a considerable fortune made under the *Barbarini*, it was a sign, that such a one had serv'd them, and not the Church.

Thus in the year 1641. the Pope made *Ascanio Filamarino* Cardinal, and Archbishop of *Naples*, though the service he had done the Church, did scarce deserve him a simple Canonicate, so far was he from meriting an Archbishoprick, yet *Urban* promoted him, because he had done most eminent service to the *Barbarines* family: And indeed, in this *Urban* cannot but be thanked, for enriching

enriching the Church (though his design were not such) with a person adorned with so many excellent qualities, which made him worthy of the Popedom it self, having, since this his elevation, edified, not only his Flock, but all *Christendome*, and rendred most singular service to the House of *Austria*, in the revolt of *Naples*, and the business of *Massinello*, in the year 1647.

If the *Barbarines* pretend to the contrary, that they have advanced and promoted those who had a true zeal for the Church, they will do well to produce their names : But I desire my Reader to take this precantion, and observe, that if any body was rewarded, under pretence of having served the Church, there was the Cheat ; for they that pretended most to serve the Church, were they, that in effect did work the *Barbarines* designs and interests to an issue : Upon this account, in one promotion, were made Cardinals the following Prelates, *Gio. Baptista Pamphilio*, who was since *Innocentius* the tenth, *Gio. Francesco Palotta*, and *Gio. Francesco de Conti guidii da Bagno* ; the first, because he had been Nuntio in *Spain*, the second in *Germany*, and the third in *France* ; yet the Pope could never be brought to make *Monsignor Visconti*, who was Nuntio in *Polonia*, Cardinal, for all the great instances of that King, though the said *Visconti* was a most worthy Prelate, and one who had done the Church more service in his Employment, than all the other three together ; and yet for all that, he remained excluded, while the others were admitted to that honour.

Why then was this affront done to *Visconti* ?

I'll

He tell you; while he was in *Polonia*, he serv'd the Church, and not the *Barbarines*; and the others, in their Nuntiatures, did the quite contrary.

Naturally *Urban* was averſe from making of Cardinals; and if ſome urgent neceſſity did not force him, could hardly be brought to it; and yee for his family, he made no difficulty of breaking the precedent Popes decrees, and the Laws of the Church, which forbid to make two brothers Cardinals, while they are both alive: but he did this onely to ſatiſſie his Nephews; and at laſt, was brought by them to make great numbers of other Cardinals; for they, being towards the end of the Pontificat weary of heaping together, began to think, how they ſhould preſerve their treasure and power, and therefore, to fortifie their party, they oblig'd their Uncle, to make a numerous promotion of their Creatures.

If ever the *Romans* murmured and made Paſſions, it was in the time of this *Nipotiſmo*; for when the *Barbarines* took away from the Church called the *Rotonda*, that excellent piece of Workmanſhip of *Bronze*, (for which we have no name but Bell-metal) to make that piece of Architecture and Pillars, which adorns the Altar in *Saint Peters Church*, which is one of the moſt noble and magnificent Works that ever was undertook, all the people cryed in the ſtreets, *Quod non fecerunt Barbari, fecerunt Barbarini*; and they thought they had a great deal of reaſon to exclaim thus againſt them, becauſe it was certainly affirm'd, that the *Barbarines* had diverted above half the metal to their private uſe in their Palace; and

and some say, that they made racks for their Chimneys of it, but I scarce believe it.

But that *Pasquin*, which was made in the time that *Gustave Adolfe*, King of *Sweden*, invaded *Germany*, was fuller of curiosity; for there were certain Images in paper, that represented the Church of God, all naked upon a little bed, and full of the wounds she had received from *Gustave*, and covered over with Flies or Bees, which were the *Barbarines Armes*; near the bed, was the Emperor upon his knees, craving aid from the Church, that he might fight for the Church; from whom he did receive this answer; *I have nothing to give thee, O my Defender, for the Flies have sucked me even to the very bones*, making allusion to the *Barbarines Armes*.

Another time were found in the streets of *Rome*, a great quantity of Pictures; in every one of which was drawn a poor Prelate, asking Alms from the Church to content himself withall; to whom the Church made answer, *For my part, I have not a farthing, the Barbarines have taken all from me*.

Almost at the same time, was seen a Medal, which represented *Pasquin*, loaden with Swords, Musquets, Daggers, and other Weapons, with an inscription that said,

To drive away the Flies;

which thing displeased the *Barbarines* beyond measure, conceiving that all this was nothing but a design to make the people rise in Armes against them, so that though they set a good face upon it, yet secretly they disposed things to their defence, in case of a sedition.

And

And certainly had it not been, that the *Romans* did every day look for the Popes death, there would have happened some revolution, for the hatred of the people to the *Barbarines* increased more and more the longer the Pope lived; one thing particularly exciting publick envy and jealousy, which was, that the *Barbarines* did every day plant their Armes in some place or other of the City, to eternize their Name and Family.

One of my friends had the curiosity, to reckon all the Bees (that is, the *Barbarines* Armes) that the *Barbarines* had placed here and there, as well in the City, as in the State of the Church, and found their number to be above ten thousand in Painting, stone and Marble.

The *Barbarines* tried to make themselves great Princes; and trusting to the great sums of money which they had got together, thought they might make themselves Masters of a good part of *Italy*: Their first design was, to put themselves in possession of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, which in the year 1631. was fallen to the Church, by the death of *Francisco Maria della Rovere*; but they found the Cardinals very averse, and resolved not to consent to the alienation of so considerable a part of the Popedom; they thought therefore that it was better to let it alone, considering the injuries they had already done to *Venice*, and the great Duke of *Tuscany*, who without doubt would have crossed their design.

But to be at once revenged of their Enemies, and draw respect from their Friends, they fram'd a design of driving the *Spaniards* out of the
King-

Kingdom of Naples, and giving the Crown of that Kingdom to *Don Tadeo*; this they thought, by reason of the decaying State that the House of *Austria* was then in, that they might bring to pass with little or no trouble; but when the business came to be weighed, and discussed, in the presence of a Prelate, of great esteem and credit, of their party, he told them, *That the Neapolitans had received such ill impressions of the Pope and his Family, that they would sooner give themselves to the Turk, than to the Barbarines.*

After this, they began to molest *Odoardo Farnese*, Duke of *Parma*, a Prince who had deserved better from the Church; and their design was, to deprive him absolutely of *Parma* and *Placentia*, and give them to *Don Tadeo*; but they met with greater obstacles than they expected, for the *Italian* Princes, his Neighbours, being alarm'd at the *Barbarines* greatness, opposed them smartly; and the Duke himself, being a noble courageous Prince, not only made a stout resistance, but drove them and their Army back to *Rome*; from which place he might have chased and expelled the *Barbarines* themselves, if he had been as malicious as they.

This Enterprize having thus failed, they fell to courting the Republick of *Luca*; but in their courtship they were a little preposterous, by shewing their desire of Empire, before they had gained their Mistresses affections; for having excommunicated her, the *Lucheses*, being advertised of their good intentions, prevented, by timely remedies, the execution of them: And thus the *Barbarines* were fain to give over with shame

shame that which they had begun with rashness.

Perceiving at last, that none of these Ambitious plots would hit, and that all Princes and the Cardinals themselves began to be weary of their long tyranny; they conceived a thought of making the Popedom hereditary in their family, which thing seemed at first feasible, because that most of the Cardinals that had been created at their recommendation, had a very good opinion of Cardinal *Francisco*; and besides, they had a secret way of compassing this their design, which, though very wicked, was yet well enough invented; and that was, to give to every Cardinal of their creatures, who were much above the two thirds of the Colledge; some one City of the Popedom, which they should enjoy for their lifetime, as Sovereign Princes, and so make as many Princes as Cardinals, but above all, they had resolved to present Cardinal *Richelieu*, with the whole state of *Avignon*, that they might have assistance from the *French*, in the rest of their enterprise.

They had betwixt them, divers conferences and meetings upon this new project, and *Don Tadeo* made every thing so easie, that it was a great pleasure to hear him discourse upon it; but Cardinal *Francesco*, who judged according to the rules of conscience and true policy, laughed it out of doors, and order'd there should be no more mention made of it. This design being thus crushed in the Cradle; to the great displeasure of those that had conceived it, the *Barbarines* layd aside all thoughts of becoming Princes, and continued in

in their wonted way of gathering riches, in which they met with all success and facility, by reason of the great experience they had of the interests and business of the Church. And certainly there scarce ever was a more able and capable Nipotism than this, for no sooner were they in possession of the management of the affairs of Europe, but they shewed themselves master Politicians.

And indeed the authority which *Urban* gave to Cardinal *Francesco* was not ordinary; and though the precedent Popes, had in effect given all power to their Nephews, yet were they contented with the substance of the thing, and did not affect new names, and titles. But *Urban* thought, it was not enough to give the power, except he gave with it the vanity, and appearance of honour; therefore his Nephew *Francesco*, to be Cardinal *Padron*, that is, Cardinal, Master, and Lord, a title never heard of before in Rome; for the Popes his predecessors, when they spoke of their Nephews would say, for example, *the Cardinal Ludovisio our Nephew, the Cardinal Borghese our Nephew*: but *Urban* from morning to evening, had nothing in his mouth, but the Cardinal *Padrone*, as, *call the Cardinal Padrone, where is the Cardinal Padrone, spake to the Cardinal Padrone, &c.* so that nothing was heard up and down, but Cardinal *Padrone*, to the astonishment of the Embassadors of Christian Princes, who thought themselves honoured enough, to call themselves the Popes Sons, and own him as Father; while he in the presence of their Embassadors, gives the title of *Padrone* to his Nephew; nay, in the presence of some Princes themselves, he

he used this Title, as it happened to the Duke of *Parma*, which occurrence, as memorable, I shall here relate.

Odoardo Farnese, Duke of *Parma*, was come in the year 1626, into his little state of *Caprarola*, for the giving of some Orders which requir'd his presence, there he received an invitation by a letter from the Pope, brought by *Monsignor Fausta*, the Popes Steward, who waited upon him with the Popes Coaches.

The Dukes intention was not to go to *Rome*, not that he had any aversion to the Pope, but because that he was well informed of the treacherous proceedings of the *Barbarines* towards many Princes, and particularly towards himself.

Nevertheless, for fear, lest a denyal should be interpreted, as a disrespect to the Popes Majesty; (particularly, having been once before as far as the Gates of *Rome*, without going into the City) and seeing himself so fairly invited, he resolved to go as he was in the habit of a Traveller, and with a slender Court.

The Pope indeed received him with all demonstrations of kindness; but the *Barbarines* using their wonted dissimulation, after they had given him some publick signs of respect and civility, did likewise afford him some occasion of complaint; of which the Duke being much offended, thought he could do no less, then signifie it to the Pope at his departure, and complain of the proceedings of the Cardinal *Padrone* towards a Prince of his quality; but he did not give him the Title of *Padrone*, but only of Cardinal *Barbarino*.

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The Pope was displeased, to see the Duke thus angry, and went about to appease him, but in vain; for having said that he knew that the Cardinal *Padrone* had a very great esteem for his person, the Duke interrupted him, and said, *Most holy Father; for my part, I know no other Padrone than your Holiness,*

This answer was quick, and biting, having been made to the Pope himself, who thereby saw his Title of *Padrone* laughed at; and indeed the Duke had a great deal of reason thus to mortify the *Barbarines*, who pretended to treat him more like their subject, than like a Prince.

But the *Barbarines* ambition stayed not in the Title of Cardinal *Padrone*; they took exceptions against the quality of *Illustrissime*, with which hitherto the Cardinals had been content for so many Ages, but pretending higher, strove to find out some term that should not be inferior to the Title of excellency, which Sovereign Princes in Italy, and other places, did then take.

This important point was often discussed, and canvassed by *Urban*, and the *Barbarines*, and more than four or five singular Titles came into their fancies; at last they pitched upon the word *Eminency*, which in effect he gave to the Cardinals, not so much for their sake, as for his Nephews. The Princes no sooner heard of it, but that they might be even with him, they took the Title of *Highness*, the *Barbarines* remaining much mortified at it.

But the best of it was, that at first *Urban* had no mind that any of the Cardinals should use the Title of *Eminency*, except those of his family;

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but afterwards foreseeing that the world would laugh at him, he made his decree general for all the Cardinals.

All this while it seemed as if the *Barbarines* had chained good fortune to their desires, all things succeeding according to their wilhes; and indeed they were become so high in their commands, that they despised every body, and could hardly brook that any Crown in Europe should oppose, or not condescend to the satisfying of their insatiable inclinations.

Never Prince was more absolute in a conquest, then the *Barbarines* were in their administration of the Church and City of Rome; they laughed at any body; let those that would talk and prate; but nothing but derision and scorn was the share of those that went about to contradict them.

'Tis true, they had the good fortune to meet with little or no opposition, for in the whole consistory of the Cardinals, there were but five, who were not their Creatures, viz. *Medici*, *Savelli*, *Caraffa*, *Lanti*, and *Capponial*, creatures of Paul the sixth, and these too being of a quiet spirit, and not undertaking, durst never oppose them stiffly. The others who had been made Cardinals by them did nothing but subscribe to the *Barbarines* pleasure whatever it was; so they lorded it over the Church and State, nay, over all Christendome, as absolute Monarchs of the World.

This uncontrouled power having lasted three and twenty years, *Urban* their Uncle died, leaving the Church in disorder, the State in debt, and his family in possession of such vast riches, that even the Stewards that managed them, could hardly believe

believe the truth of their accounts. Two hundred and seven and twenty Governments, Dignities, Offices, Abbies, and Benefices of the richest sort, were then in the family of the *Barbarins*, the Revenue of which was so great, that I believe the *Barbarins* never computed it, though they received it.

The Catholick King, who is master of so many Provinces, and who takes a pride in filling whole sheets of paper with his Titles, could not produce half so many as the *Barbarins* could have done after the death of their Uncle.

As for sums of ready money it is not to be imagined how great they are that they have. 'Tis believed, that Cardinal *Francesco* alone hath under ground, above two millions of Crowns in Gold. Besides what the Cardinal *Anonis* hath hidden and spent in his long Exile. And besides what *Don Tadeo* sent to *Palestrina*, to be buried in a new vault under ground. And it is very certain, that about two months before *Urban* dyed, there were met in two nights above threescore and ten Mules, loaden with money, going to *Palestrina*, where *Don Tadeo* was to receive them.

But we have another argument of the *Barbarins* prodigious riches. For if *Sixtus* the Fifth, in five years time, could spend five Millions of Crowns, in buildings, and founding of Colledges, and leave five millions more to the Church, and yet give away three millions at least to his kindred. And if *Gregory* the fiftenth in two years time spent vast sums, for the succour of the *Pollack* and the *Emperour*, and in the embellishing of *Rome*, and yet left to his Relations the value of

above three Millions of Crowns. (Then I say, let any body judge what riches the Family of the *Barberini* are in possession of. They that for the space of three and twenty year have had the whole Popehood at their disposition; and who in all that time never spent for the Church, or in publick Edifices, above four Millions of Crowns in Gold; and yet the people was never more oppressed; therefore we must conclude That their riches are immenso; and if we may calculate them by comparison of what the other Popes Nephews have got, they must have above thirty Millions of Crowns; and they that judge well, will not think it too much.

The power of this *Nipotismo* expired not with their Uncle; and though under his Successor they suffered a sharp Persecution, yet are they even now at this time so recovered of it, that they still deserve the Title of the *Nipotismo Di Roma*, there being three Cardinals of them alive, a thing which was never seen before, and will scarce be seen hereafter in *Rome*, that there should be three Cardinals of the same Name and Family, and that which is most considerable, is, that they are now in great esteem with the *Romans*. *Fraancesca*, who is the Elder Brother, being respected as a Saint; and if he be alive when the See of *Rome* shall be vacant, he will go near to get the Popehood once more into his family, and the Cardinals ought to choose him for three reasons.

First, Because of the purity of his life, neither can it be said, that he counterfeits Piety, and feigns devotion; as many others have done. Because; it is not possible, that a man shall equally deceive

the World in his infancy, his youth, his riper years, and his old age; therefore, certainly, since this Cardinal hath appear'd, even from his youth, to be what he now is, we ought to conclude him to be of an unfeign'd integrity.

The second reason, for which Cardinal *Fran-cesco* deserves to be Pope, is his great experience in Ecclesiastick and Civil affairs, there being no Cardinal now alive, that is half so well instructed in them as he: so that upon this score Christendom would be sure to be well provided of a Pope.

The third reason is, That the *Barbarians* being already exceedingly rich, they would not now be so subject to that great avidity of heaping treasure upon treasure as they were at first. But I reckon without mine host, and would do better to leave these thoughts to the Cardinals, who will have time enough to examine them, since *Alexander* hath of late taken new forces, and is not like to die yet.

The second Cardinal of this Family, that is *Antonio*, hath by his change of life, wiped away that scandalous impression, which his first demeanours, under the Pontificat of his Uncle, had given of him. And indeed, in that time he did lead a life too full of liberty and debauchery, and did not only scandalize all Europe, but by his proud carriage disoblige the Embassadors of many Princes, and made the *Romans* hate him, so, that at midnight they would cry out in the streets, if *Cardinal Antonio* serve in *Roma* di *demonio*: but as I have said already, After he once began to frequent the *French*, and follow their

humour, he changed his nature, and the Romans changed their note to his advantage, seeing him become generous, full of affability and civility, and much inclin'd to promote learning, so that now they cry *Antonius Barbarius, semper angelus divino*. But for the Popedom, he need not expect it; for all the miracles in the World, will not take away altogether an ill impression from the *Italians*, when once it hath had a foundation in their minds.

Charles Barbarius, who is the third, is very obsequious to his Uncle *Francesco*, who does with a great deal of care give him such instructions, as may breed Virtue and Piety in him. Many think that most of his good qualities are feigned; but for my part, I think we ought to judge well of exterior probity, and leave the secret of dissimulation to him that knows the heart; though most say, That he is *Cardinal Antonio* within, and *Cardinal Francesco* without.

But now it is time to leave the *Barbarians*, and come to *Donna Olympia's* brother in Law, that is *Innocentius* the tenth, who was chosen in 1649, contrary to the worlds expectation; not but that he was endowed with sufficient good qualities for so high a post: but that is the least thing that is considered by the *Nipotismo*, who in the creation of a new Pope are very careful not to advance one who should prove the enemy of their Family.

In this Conclave, the *Barbarians* had resolved to give their votes, and those of their party, rather to *Cardinal Medici*, then to *Cardinal Pamphilio*; and

and the former, because, that upon the point that the Cardinals were to go into the Conclave, there were divers Pasquins made, and amongst the others this, *Guardatevi gli far Papa Pamphilio che vi Mandarebbe tutti in Esilio*, and this other, *Pamphilio Mandara le Mosche in Esilio*: So that the chiefest aim of the Nipotismo was to procure the exclusion of Pamphilio, not only by means of their creatures, but also by a formal opposition from France, which the Cardinal Antonio was very earnest for in that Court; but the more he bestirred himself for this exclusion, the more prognosticks there were of a contrary success.

Innocentius being then chosen in spite of the *Barbarines*, began to persecute them most furiously, and with so much rage and passion, that though at first no body pittied them, yet at last it was thought too severe a proceeding: In the mean time Rome was furnished immediately with another Nipotismo, as if it had been a perpetual custome and tradition of the Church not to be without one.

This Pope had but one Nephew, called *Camillo Pamphilio*, who by him was made Cardinal in the first promotion with the Title of *Padrone*, though he were very unfit for so weighty an Employment. But *Innocent* did think to instruct him by little and little, and shape him for business. 'Tis true, that in his Remonstrances, he would be so sharp and crabbed, following the Nature of his Temper, that the Cardinal, far from learning any thing, was put out of conceit with business, and began to hate it extreamly; and because the Pope continued every day to reproach him with

his incapacity and dulness, the poor Cardinal was often forced to feign sickness, and pretend some incommodity to avoid giving of Audience to Embassadors, and publick Ministers; thus would he be whole dayes without daring to appear in his Uncles presence, in which time he did nothing but contrive how he should be rid of this yolk; which though of Gold, seemed to him to be of Iron, looking upon himself as upon the greatest slave of the World.

And at last he began to think, that the precedent Popes having declar'd some one of their Nephews, Princes, and married them advantageously, it would not be amiss that his Uncle should do as much for him. And indeed, when the news was published, that *Camillo Pamphilio* was made Cardinal, most wise men wondred at it; Considering, that whereas, all the desires of the precedent Popes had been to eternize their name and family, by marriages with Princesses and persons of great quality; yet that *Innocentius* having but this Nephew in the World, as the only bud of the *Pamphilian* family, should not only condescend, but, as it were force him, be a Cardinal, and renounce Marriage; shewing therein an avidity for present honour, but little or no care for his posterity.

But Cardinal *Pamphilio* considered better of it; and seeing that all the *Nipotismo* consisted in him alone, resolv'd to act all the parts of it, and play sometimes the Cardinal and Politician, sometimes the Prince and the gallant, and so make up a perfect *Nipotismo*.

To help him in the execution of his design there happened the fairest occasion that ever was; for at that very time, the Princess of Rossana, being become a Widdow, and having the happy qualities of rich, young, and beautiful; he thought he might gain her; and indeed it succeeded accordingly: for this Lady, though she were demanded in Marriage by divers Sovereign Princes, was pleased to place all her affections upon the Cardinal Camillo, who courted her secretly with a resolution to marry her.

Neither is it to be wondred at that so accomplish'd a Lady, should encline to bestow herself upon one who was so far from being lovely; For her end in it was ambition, supposing that by this marriage, she should insinuate her self into the Popes favour, and by her beauty and taking carriage, attract his kindness, and so be mistress of the Church, the State, the Pope, and her husband.

But things fell out far different to her expectation, for no sooner had the Pope the news of the match, and that they were promised to one another, but he immediately banish'd them both from Rome.

The Princess made some resistance, and refused to obey this his order; saying in her defence, That he had liberty to banish his Nephews, as much as he pleased, but not the Roman Princesses. Neither would she depart the City, the same day her Husband left it; but some time after she followed, saying, that it was not to obey the Pope, but to go to her Husband.

There

There was nobody in Court or City, who did not pity this Ladies case, and take the Pope not only of ingratitude towards a princess, who had refused great Princes to marry his Nephew, but also layed brutishness and dulness to his charge, as one who could not see the infinite advantages this match did bring to his family; and to say true, there was nothing in this alliance, that could with any reason move the Popes indignation against his Nephew, who was the only support of the family, and who for his natural defects and incapacity of business, ought rather to have been excused, than reproached with this so advantageous a change of condition; where the fortune, the beauty, the youth, and the parts of the Lady were incomparable qualities, which might be sufficient to make a Queen, besides fecundity, which soon after she shewed.

Yet for all this, the Pope did stop his ears to all reason, and guided, or rather mis-led by his own fancy, and the persuasions of *Dona Olympia*, continued his severity towards this new married couple.

If we may guess at the reasons of this so extraordinary a proceeding, I believe the chiefest was, because, that this Pope by an extravagant capriccio had resolv'd to introduce his Sister in Law, in the place of the other Popes Nipotismo's; and he accordingly gave to *Dona Olympia*, an absolute authority; not only over the Church and State, but over his own person, not daring to take any resolution without this Ladies leave.

And

And this was a thing without Example; for if *Alexander* the sixth gave himself up to *Vanoccia* the Roman Courtesan, by whom he had many bastards, yet he never suffer'd her to have any hand in the Government, but would divert himself in his hours of recreation with her. Whereas *Donna Olympia* was called to the *Vatican*, not to serve *Innocentius*, but to command him, which she did with so much authority, that she seemed to be the Pope, and he to be neither a man, nor a Pope.

If ever the Church was shamefully set out, and satyrically painted by the Hereticks, it was in this time; for there was not any place where the publick discourse was not about this extravagant fancy of the Popes to renounce his own Nephew, and give himself and the Popedom, into the hands of a Woman, heretofore ----- and now grown ambitious and covetous.

Catholicks and Hereticks together were astonish'd, and did murmur to see, that he who called himself the head of the Church should be subject to the appetite of a woman; and that to her ambitious desires, he should be content to sacrifice his own Nephew, and deprive himself of that help and succour, which according to the example of his predecessors, he might have expected from him.

If there were any offices vacant, or places empty in the Court, nothing was to be determin'd about them, without the advice of *Donna Olympia*; nay, if there were Benefices to be conferr'd, the Officers of the *Datary* or *Chancery* durst not expediate the Bulls for them, having receiv'd an express

express order from his holiness, to suspend the expedition of all business, till his sister in Law was instructed of it, and gave her consent.

If any Bishopricks were to be provided with able Pastors; all the competitors made it their business to court her; and that which was worst, was, that they ordinarily carried it, who offered most money, and not they that had greatest deserts, though it were true, That the more the person was unfit, the more was he fain to give to be admitted.

But this Womans pride, carried her to that point of insolence, that not thinking it enough to have had a Cardinals Cap for one of her young Nephews, altogether unworthy of so high a Dignity, but pretended besides, that in all promotions, her voice and consent should be expected, and followed: From hence proceeded that the Courtiers, seeing her exercise this power, either, out of fear, or hope, did frequent her Palace, and daily go to wait upon her, not daring to put any end to business already begun, or begin any other, before they had acquainted her with every particularity of it.

Cardinal Panziolo himself, Secretary of State to *Innocentius*, and oppressed with multitude of affairs, and the indisposition of his body, was not free from this base Courtship; but that he might humour his master, who was infinitely pleased to see *Donna Olympia* obeyed, was fain to go in person very often to wait upon her, and give her an account of all the secret negotiations of the Court, and of every thing that passed through his hands: after which she would from time to time,

time, go to the *Vatican*, followed with a numerous company of Coaches, and her hands full of Papers, which she had already drawn up, as she would have them pass, and there stay whole hours with the Pope, in discussing, and ripening other business that was next to fall in order.

The wits of the Court seeing this, could not forbear so good a subject for *Pasquins*, but made them with all sharpness, yet as secretly as they could, they being well inform'd of the danger of exposing the defects of those that Rule; and though every body were mov'd with indignation to see the Pope so much mistake himself, as to prefer the company of a Woman to that of his Nephew, and the Princess of *Rossana* his Wife, the only prop of the Family of *Pamphila*; yet *Innocent* was so prepossessed against them, that he would not hear of his Nephews submissions and excuses.

These murmurs and satyrical Discourses were all this while, either concealed from the Pope, or at least dissembled by him; as being unresolv'd of the means that should bridle so many tongues, and stop the mouths of all Christendome; particularly, of the Protestants, who made very good sport with this female Government, not only laughing at the Pope, who by the assistance of the holy Ghost could not discern that which was the ruine of his reputation and family, but also by immodest representations, and contumelious pictures, giving the world to understand, that they were fully inform'd of the disorders of the Court of *Rome*.

But

But at last the Pope, not being able to endure any longer the secret reproach, and publick affronts which he received from Embassadors, and Princes themselves, as well as from the greatest part of the Cardinals, resolv'd to dismiss from the Court this ambitious sister in Law, whose unbridled licence he had hitherto countenanced, and to take away from her all sort of command and power.

Thus *Donna Olympia* being banished from Court, and the *Vatican* purged of her corruptions, the Pope bethought himself of introducing a Nipotismo, that the Church might not loose its prescription.

But before we begin to discourse of the particularities of this new Nipotismo, it will not be amiss to give an account of all the Popes kindred and relations, and begin with his nearest. He had one Nephew, and two Nieces, besides a sister, of whom we shall say but little, as well, because she led a Nuns life in a Convent, as, because that *Donna Olympia*, out of a natural jealousie between Women, took care to keep her from receiving any kindnesses or favours from the Pope.

The Prince *Camillo Pamphilo*, though after three years banishment, he were at last recall'd to Rome with his Lady, was nevertheless in so ill a predicament with his Uncle, who never was able to forget those tales which *Donna Olympia* had continually entertained him with, to his Nephews disadvantage, that he was in Rome, as if he had been at the Indies, never coming near the Pope.

Pope or Court, at which he was not much troubled, as one who cared not to be concern'd in business, and thought himself happy enough in all private enjoyment of so lovely a Lady as his was.

Of the two sisters, the Popes Nieces, the eldest was married to D. *Andres Giustiniani*, who himself was a great favourite of fortune. For the Marquess *Giustiniani*, a person of great quality and estate, seeing himself without any heirs of his family and name, cast his eyes by chance upon this Gentleman who was then very poor and low, and though, as it afterwards proved, he was of the same branch of the *Giustiniani*, with the Marquess, yet it was at such a distance, that neither of them did believe themselves at all a-kin; he was then thus fortunately instituted Heir to a very great estate, by which means the way to *Grandeur* being made easie to him, he found no difficulty in obtaining in marriage the Niece of Cardinal *Pamphilio*, who being immediately after chosen Pope, the Prince *Giustiniani* saw himself of a sudden become a part of the *Roman* *Nipotismo*, enjoying those honours and prerogatives which the *Romans* do use to observe towards persons of that quality.

But the Pope had no real kindness for him, and having given him some profitable offices, refused to introduce him into the management of business, but left him to play the good husband in his own estate. And indeed employments of another nature had been lost upon him, for besides that he had alwayes retain'd something of his meanness

meanells when he was poor: there was nothing laudable in him but a natural bounty: and the Pope being well inform'd, did abstain from using his service in anything of importance.

The other sister was married to *Don Nicolo Ludoviso*, Prince of *Piemonte*, Nephew of *Gregory the Fifteenth*, and brother to that Cardinal *Ludoviso*, who in *Gregory's* time govern'd all things. This Prince had inclin'd to this match, out of an opinion of making great advantages by it, as seeing at that time that Cardinal *Camillo* was made Cardinal, and altogether unfit for business, so that he flattered himself with an opinion of being the only Nephew, and governing the Pope and Church.

But when it came to the push, he found he had misreckoned for *Donna Olympia*, his mother in law, disappointed all his ambition by hers, not being dispos'd to suffer that any body should rule but her self: So that the Prince was reduced to a meer complacence and obedience to her commands. Neither was it to any purpose that sometimes he would complain of the difficulties he found to be admitted to the Popes audience, and receive those marks of kindness which seem'd due to so neer a relation; for *Donna Olympia* answer'd him in a haughty manner, That it was honour enough for him that he had been preferr'd to marry her Daughter before so many competitors of as great a quality as himself. Whereupon the Prince being unwilling to come to a rupture with one who had so great an influence upon the Pope, would hold his tongue and be quiet.

Yet

Yet from time to time he was forced amongst his private friends, to give a vent to his grief by telling them, That the Popes Alliance had brought him into the disgrace of the *French*; whereupon his principality of *Piombino* was by them made a Theater of their fury, for not being able to do the Pope mischief openly, as they would have wished, they did content their spite in ruining a place belonging to so neer a relation as he was to the Pope. So that the loss and damage he receiv'd, by being thus allyed was certain; whereas the advantages were uncertain and inconsiderable, consisting only in some incomes from his place of General of the Gallies, and some such offices which he little esteemed.

But when *Donna Olympia* fell once from that height of favour, then this Prince being very sure, that the Pope could not subsist without some body to helpe him in so great a charge; and knowing himself to be in as neer a degree as any body, and as fit for the employment, began to conceive hopes of being called to Court, and admitted to the management of business.

And here again, The poor Prince was deceived; for *Innocent* had all along conceived such an ill opinion, and received from *Donna Olympia* such disadvantageous impressions of him, that he would never see him, but when he had a mind to be merry, making the Prince serve as a buffoon to his diversion, and never so much as mentioning any serious matter in his presence.

For all this the Popes relations were fully persuaded, That the Pope must of necessity bestow

the Title of Nephew upon some body; and seeing that among his kindred none would please him, they went insinuating sometimes one, sometimes another into the Popes affections. *Innocent* of his side was in perpetual conferences with Cardinal *Panicollo* about the same business, so that every hour of the day they were examining the good qualities of one or other to choose the most deserving.

In this scarcity of subjects fit for the employment, the Prince *Ludoviso* thought, that the honour might fall upon the person of Cardinal *Albergati*, who went by the name of *Ludoviso*, but he soon found an exclusion in the Popes mind, as being ignorant and incapable of such a place.

The Jesuite *Fabio Albergati*, brother to the said Cardinal, was the fitter man, as being endow'd with learning, experience, and great wisdom in the managing of business; but the Pope declar'd, That he would not make two brothers of the same family Cardinals.

So that at last, of all those that had been brought upon the Stage, there remained none but he that Cardinal *Panzirolo* brought on, who was a prodigious off-spring of Fortune, and the wonder of Christendome, which was astonish'd to see a Pope so averse from his relations as to declare a supposed Nephew for Cardinal, and Padrone: but before we engage in the particularities of this singular event, we will say something to instruct the Reader about it.

There

There never was acted upon the Theater of the Court of Rome so unexpected and strange a Scene, which therefore deserves to be reckoned amongst the prodigious effects of Fortune; for the Pope having no consanguinity with him, and he being without deserts, experience, or any remarkable quality that might make him conspicuous, nay, being scarce known, or at least not familiarly to the Pope; he was nevertheless of a sudden exalted and promoted to the degree of Cardinal, Nephew, and Padrone, as if he had been the head of the *Pamphilian* Family: And to deserve all this, there was no quality but that, being born of a noble Family, which nevertheless at that time was so far indebted and decayed, that he was not to expect any assistance in his fortune from them.

His name, not to hold the Lector any longer in suspense, was *Camillo Astalli*, a young Gentleman of about seven and twenty years old, of a comely aspect, and a handsome winning carriage, though guilty sometimes of too many complements, and in a word accomplish'd, as they ordinarily are, whose highest ambition carries them no further in Rome than some Office or Prelature.

And that which most surprized the Court, was to see one exalted thus, under pretence of serving and helping the Pope in the administration of State Affairs; one who was an absolute novice to all negotiations and policy, by reason of the few occasions he had had to learn any thing of that nature.

But the occasion of his coming to court and making himself known, was, the alliance which the Marquess his brother had contracted with a Niece of *Donna Olympia's*, for she being ambitious had alwayes embrac'd the occasions of marrying her relations into noble families, as having a design to honour, by such props, her own family of *Mal-dachini*, to whom that flower of nobility was denyed, which was an affliction to a Popes sister in Law, and a sister in Law that govern'd with an absolute authority.

As it fell out, it was very fortunate for the house of *Astalli*, that they were allyed with her; because that they wanted riches to maintain their gentility, the more since they had at the invitation of *Donna Olympia* bought the place of Clerk of the Apostolick chamber, which office had absorb'd the greatest part of their Patrimony; so that, if by chance the possessor of it did fail to make a fortune, or did dye suddenly, the whole family did run the hazard of being begger'd for ever.

But all fell out luckily; for *Astalli*, having by means of his office and alliance got an entrance into the Court, addicted himself particularly to worship and court Cardinal *Panzirollo*, the Secretary of State, who had a great Empire over the Pope: and that which was most fortunate, was, that this Cardinal answer'd the young mans affection with the like on his side, being gained by his obsequious carriage; at which all the Court was much surprized, considering that Cardinal *Panzirollo*, had alwayes discovered an inveterate hatred against any one that was in favour with

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Here

Here the contrary fell out, for *Panzirollo* made it his task, to insinuate this young Gentleman into the Popes affections, which at last he did so far, that the Pope was infinitely pleased with his comely garb and handsome carriage; and when it came to be debated, whom he should choose to ease him of a part of those cares and fatigues which accompany the Popedom, seeing none of his own Relations qualified for the Employment, he followed *Panzirollo's* directions, and prefer'd this young man before all the other pretendants; so without any more to do, he was created Cardinal, declared Nephew, proclaim'd *Padrone*, and had the name of *Pamphilio* given him, together with the key of the Popes Closet, to go out and in when he pleased.

As soon as this news was spread through *Rome*, the Politicians following the humour of the Town, began to discourse of what would follow, and endeavoured to penetrate the secret causes of the Popes aversion to his Kindred; that should move him thus to set up a counterfeit Nephew: In the mean time, the true *Nipotismo* were all met in *Donna Olympia's* house, there to condole with one another, upon this affront and shame which had befallen them.

Donna Olympia, who above all was enraged at this so strange a mutation of government, and who doubted not, as it was true, but that Cardinal *Panzirollo* was the Author of it, went to him, and shewed her resentment in menaces and threats, with all the passion a woman was capable of. The Cardinal being satisfied, that he had

obtained his desire, was not much moved at her reproaches, and those of her kindred, but answering her with his ordinary gravity and slegm, told her, *That things did not, as she might think, depend upon his counsels, but upon the Popes inclinations, who lov'd to do what he pleased, and nothing else.*

All this while *Rome* was in a perpetual vicissitude of tears and joy; of joy, to hear the new counterfeit *Nipotismo's* transports; of grief and sorrow, to hear the complaints of the old and real *Nipotismo*:

Embassadours came laughing and merry from one Visit, to go sad and full of tears to another. The Priests, adherents to the old *Nipotismo*, said Mass, and implored patience from Heaven for them in their sufferings; and the flatterers of the new, offered thanksgivings, and prayed for help from Heaven for the continuation of its power: while the new and false *Nipotismo* went triumphant through *Rome*, and received the respects of every one, the true and real one was fain to sculk and lye close in the shadow of its afflictions and disgrace.

The Railleries, the Pasquins, and the discourses about this new way of enriching the Church with a *Nipotismo*, were infinite, there being no body that could imagine, from what Wits could spring so many different Conceits, bad and good, as were publish'd upon this new subject.

The Cardinal *Sforza*, who had always assum'd to himself the liberty of saying any thing; as soon

soon as he heard the news of this resolution of the Popes, was the first that began to make Pasquins; for the next day, in presence of four of the chiefest Cardinals of the Colledge, he said these very words, *Now that the Pope Innocent hath introduced the custome of making false Nephews, the other Popes will never fail of Nephews, for they will make whole Regiments of them, and fill with such a generation our Colledge of Cardinals.*

But the words of a certain Prelate of Parma were more sharp and biting, which were these, I foresee, said he, *that one day the Popes will throw Dice for their Niporisimo, and take what comes uppermost, and so the affairs of the Church will be managed at an adventure.*

Yet for all this, the new Nephew had all the interest of the Church and State put into his hands, though with some limitation, for the Pope communicated all things to him, and particularly matters of State; not so much to lay the weight of them upon him, as to instruct him how he should manage them, for he durst not yet trust to his small experience, for fear of being deceiv'd. Thus *Astalli* had properly nothing but the name and honour of Cardinal *Padrone*, subscribing to all the Nuntioes, Legates and Governours Commissions, and receiving Embassadours, when the Pope was indisposed, though still with the obligation of reporting every thing to his Holiness.

As long as Cardinal *Panzirollo* liv'd, *Astalli's* fortune was prosperous and good, because that the Popes kindred durst not by any means go about to supplant him, though they hated him perfectly, knowing

knowing that the Cardinals perswasions would still prevail with their Uncle more then their credit ; whereupon they dissembled their design, and, according to the custome of Rome, seem'd to rejoyce for that thing which they most abhorred.

But no sooner had Cardinal *Panzirallo* yielded up his last breath, but *Astalli* began to perceive the decay of his fortune, and to mistrust that which afterwards befell him ; for no sooner had this Cardinal shut his eyes, but the Popes kindred went about to undo him, and easily compass'd their intention, the Pope beginning to revive that affection, which he had formerly born to his Sister in law. One morning then, as the Cardinal *Padrone* was rising out of his bed, he receiv'd a Message from the Pope, whereof the bearer told him, *That by his Holinesses Order he was banished from Rome, and forbidden the Popes presence for ever ; that he should lay aside the title of Cardinal Padrone, and renounce the name of Nephew as well as that of Pamphilio.* And in a word, not only all his Revenue was seised on, but he could not get leave to transport any thing of his household stufte or moveables. So that the poor Cardinal was fain to forsake Rome, seeing that all wayes to justifie himself were shut up, and all the favour he could obtain was, that he might depart in the night, to avoid the derision and mocking of the people.

The motive of this so severe a sentence, with which *Astalli* was treated, as if he had been guilty of high Treason, was this ; the *Barbarines* having

ving been recall'd and reconcil'd to the Pope, were now great with him, and at their perswasion, *Innocent* had begun to think of taking the Kingdom of *Naples* from the *Spaniard*; upon which subject there were often Conferences held between him, the *Barbarines*, and his Kindred, excluding still from their Counsels the Cardinal *Astalli*; who thereby perceiving, that the Popes kindness for him did begin to abate, thought it would be prudently done, to provide in time some other protection, that so his fall might be less, and he might have something to hang by, which might hinder him from falling to the bottom of that precipice, which was digging for him.

Having therefore penetrated into these secret designs of the Pope, he gave the *Spaniard* notice of them closely, and the advice came no sooner to the Catholick Kings ears, but he immediately gave such Orders in the Kingdom of *Naples*, as quite disappointed the *Barbarines* plot, by shutting that door, which was to give an entrance to the execution of their design.

Azzolini, a Confident and Spy of *Donna Olympia's*, took upon him to discover who it was that had betrayed them, and after an exact search found, that it could be no body but *Astalli*; whereupon the Pope banish'd him, and made *Azzolini* Cardinal for his recompence.

This sudden fall of the false Nephew opened all the mouthes in *Rome*, who did not know of the reason of it, to exclaime against the Popes inconstancy: but no sooner was the *Nipotiſmo* down,

down, but that *Donna Olympia* raised her self upon its ruines; for the Pope a weary of being alone, call'd his Sister in Law once more to him, and gave her back again all her former power; and more, if more could be, the true *Niponismo* remaining neglected, and despised in all these changes; for except some Offices and Places which they got, they were little more advanced in the Popes favour; and in those places, they had, it is true, a liberty of getting money by all Arts, but still with the condition of dependance upon *Donna Olympia*.

The avidity of the *Barbarines* was but a shadow of what this Lady perform'd in reallity; for under her government, Cardinalships, Bishopricks, Abbies, Canonicates, and generally, all Church revenues were sold, as in a Market, to him that bid most: She little cared how full the Town was of murmurs, if her purse were full of Gold; and that which was most intollerable was, that not only the meritorious and deserving people were neglected, but banished from *Rome*.

There was no more talk then of the Pope, all the discourse was of *Donna Olympia*, many taking occasion to say, *That it were fit likewise to introduce the women to the administration of the Sacrament, since that Donna Olympia was Pope.*

At last it pleased Almighty God to deliver the Church from so great a scandal, and so unheard of one before this age, which gave so fair an occasion to the Hereticks of inveighing against the

the Church of Rome, with a great deal of reason.

Innocent dyed in the year 1655. having reigned ten years, four months, and some dayes; so that then the Sister in law, and the *Niposimo*, were fain to leave the *Vatican* to the Pope that should be chosen, who was *Alexander* the seventh, who now lives and rules the Church.

The Cardinals thought of little less than of making *Alexander* Pope, who went by the name of *Fabio Chigi* of *Siena*; not that he was destitute of those qualities which make a Cardinal worthy of that Elevation, but because that he was newly made Cardinal, and too young to be a Competitor for such a place; with all this, after three moneths time employed in the Conclave, he was at last chosen, when he thought least of it.

As soon as the news was spread in the Town, people began to discourse about the new *Niposimo*, which was to govern the City, the State, and the Church; and there many began to reckon up such a number of kindred, that they affirm'd, there would not be room for them in *Rome* it self; much less was the *Popedome* sufficient to enrich such a company of hungry Relations, and raise a Family, which, though of ancient Nobility, was nevertheless very poor.

The ambitious, and those that desir'd to be in favour with these new Masters, rid post to *Siena*, not onely to carry this happy news, but also to have the priviledge of offering their services first.

Don

Don Mario, the Popes brother, as soon as he heard of his exaltation, immediately, without so much as putting on new clothes, as his Wife would have had him, caused a Horse to be saddled, and with two servants took his journey towards *Rome*; having first receiv'd from one and the other a number of submissive complements, not without the title of Excellence,

He was thus going on, and making Castles in the Air, insomuch that he did scarce see those that came to meet him on his way, seeming a man in an extasie, and a body without a soule, which without doubt was gone before to take possession of his future greatness; when at some miles distance from *Siena*, he met a Gentleman, from the Pope, with Letters to him, in which his Holiness did most strictly command, that neither he, nor any of his Relations should stir from *Siena* to go towards *Rome*, under pain of incurring their brothers indignation for ever.

At this News the poor *Don Mario* was as if he had been thunder-struck; so that if at first he seemed a body without a soul, it was almost true now, for all his blood retired to his heart, and left him pale, like a Ghost, though otherwise corpulent enough; he was in doubt whether he should insinge these so severe commands, and continue on his way, or else obey and go home again; the first seemed dangerous, the second shameful; but at last after some reluctancy within himself, he resolv'd to return by night to *Siena*, being afraid to enter the City by day.

Being come home, he communicated his Letter

to all the kindred ; and though it seem'd a very severe one to them, yet had they some little glimpse of hope in the ambiguous sense of these words, *Do not stir from Siena, in no wise, till you receive a new Order from us* : from this they took occasion, not to despair of their fortune, guessing, that this proceeding was not a defect of kindness in the Pope, but some new politick trick.

The great Duke of Florence, in the mean time, forgot not to send a Gentleman to visit *Don Mario*, and to present him with such things as he thought they might need in that occasion ; and by his example, many Cardinals and Princes did the same thing ; particularly, all the persons of quality of *Tuscany* failed not, every one of them, to wait upon the Family of the *Chigi*. 'Tis true, that the Popes order carried, that they should not change their way of living, nor receive visits as his Relations ; but that was too hard to be executed, since it was not in their power, to hinder those that had a mind to it, from doing them that honour.

The republick of *Venice*, whose maxime it is to keep the Popes for friends (though they often have been so ungrateful, and so little sensible of the service that this State does to the Church and all *Christendom*, as to trouble its quiet) having receiv'd the news of the election, assembled the Senate, to deliberate of the demonstrations of joy, which they should shew to the Pope.

There

There it was resolv'd unanimously, *That the House of Chigi should be declared Noble of Venice, with all the Prerogatives that the Senate uses to bestow on such occasions*; which was done accordingly, and the Letters Patent were sent to the Pope and his kindred in *Siena*, with the usual formes, being followed immediately after by a solemn and stately Embassie.

Thus the Popes kindred did receive continually great honour in *Siena*, though it were some mortification to them, to see themselves depriv'd of that command and authority, which they thought did belong to them, *de jure*, as being a Popes Relations.

In the mean time, this neglect and denial, which the Pope seem'd to make of his dearest Kindred, got him such a reputation through the world, that nothing was more discourf'd of, then of his Holiness and purity of life; the vulgar did expect no less than miracles from him! and hearing say, that he had alwayes upon his table a dead mans Scul, and under his bed his Coffin, they could not chuse, but be confirm'd in the opinion of his Holiness.

But the wiser sort, and the judicious, were not so easily deceiv'd; but reckoning, that it was either policy, or a particular melancholy, which had flown into the Popes head, but had not root in his heart, they alwayes said, *let us see what the end will be.*

And

And indeed, after some time it was observed, that the Pope did as the Traveller, who being in a small vessel, which was surpriz'd by a terrible storm at Sea, resolv'd that he might save his life, to throw all that he had into the Sea; having then tyed his baggage with a rope, he threw it over board, but still kept in his hand, the end of the rope to which his baggage was tyed. Just thus did *Alexander*, for though it seemed to the eyes of the vulgar, that he had despised and thrown overboard his Kindred, yet from time to time he woul hold out his hand, and send them money, and all other things that were necessary, there passing never a day, but they had news from him, and he from them.

And once particularly (and this is a thing which I am an eye witness of; neither do I think, that *Don Mario* himself can deny it, if he will be sincere) the Pope feigning to send them some Mules, loden with Wax for certain Churches, sent them indeed Mules loaden with money; which cheat was so great, that the Muletiers themselves perceiv'd, it complaining of the extraordinary heaviness of their burdens; and indeed, what should they have done with so much Wax, for there would have been enough, if it had been really Wax, to have lighted the *French Court* a whole year.

Another time, he took an occasion of sending some silver vessels, and some Silk stufs, to be employed in ornaments for Churches, with order, that

that they should be recommended to *Don Mario*, to dispose of them according to the Popes intention; but *Don Mario*, in opening the boxes, found above four Purfes full of Gold, Gold all newly coin'd, with the stamp of the Popes-head upon them.

The Embassadors of Princes, and the Cardinals, having perceiv'd, that all this apparent aversion to his Kindred, was but juggling and hypocrisie, made it their business, to induce him by prayers and entreaties to change his resolution; particularly, having observ'd, that the Popes design was, to be thus urged and pressed, that he might gain reputation in the world, and be furnished with an excuse, whensoever, at their request, he should introduce his banished Relations. And indeed, they had gain'd so much upon him, that he did begin to hearken to their reasons with a milder countenance, and less reluctancy: Yet there was one thing which hindred him from coming to the execution of this his design, which was the Oath he had taken before the Crucifix in the beginning of his Popedom, not to receive his Kindred in *Rome*; but the Jesuites, who were his Confessors, and who are as subtil Philosophers as learned Casuists, found out an evasion, which much pleased his Holiness; for it gave him leave to comfort his kindred, to yield to the Prayers and Sollicitations of Princes, and to ease himself of a part of the weight and cares of Government.

They

They told him then, that indeed it would have been a breach of his Oath, to receive his kindred in *Rome*; but that he might, with a safe conscience, go and meet them half a dayes Journey out of *Rome*, and so not at all endanger his soul: this was much liked, and put in execution by the Pope, though it seemed to the Court a ridiculous evasion, which became the subject of their laughter and drollery for a great while.

The Pope being then at last resolved, Orders were dispatch'd to *Siena* to the *Nipotismo*, which was there assembled, in expectation of this news, as if they had waited for Manna from Heaven. So *Don Mario*, his Wife and Children, and *Don Agostino*, with a numerous attendance, left *Siena*, and took their journey towards *Castel Gandolfo*, a House of pleasure of the Popes, where they met his Holiness, who receiv'd them, and embraced them with the greatest demonstrations of affection and kindness that was possible; and after some short stay there, came back to *Rome* with them in triumph.

In the interim, it is worth the Readers curiosity, to be inform'd of an accident that befell *Padre Pallavicino*, the Popes Confessor, a Jesuite, in hopes of obtaining a Cardinals Cap, which at last he got, had undertaken to write the Story of the Council of *Trent*; which indeed may justly be call'd his, for the greatest part of it is not History and Relation, but an abundance of words, by which he endeavours to prove, that the History of

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Fra.

Fra. Paulo, upon the same subject, was and is false; but he stumbles at every step he goes, and is so ill furnish'd with Arguments, that for my part, I must confess, that I never believ'd *Fra. Paulo's* History to be real, sincere and true, but since I read the Jesuites: and he that will profit by them, let him read them both with an equal disinterestment.

Now in this History, *Father Palavicino* had taken occasion to praise the Pope *Alexander* in divers places, and extoll him to the Skyes, as an Angel rather than a man; for denying his own blood and relations, and keeping them at such a distance from him.

The Sheets were printed, and the Book was coming out, when the Pope went to receive his kindred at *Castle Gandolfe*, and had brought them to *Rome*: This cast the Father into a strange perplexity; and the rather, because that the Pope, before he undertook his journey, had asked him his advice about the business; as being his Confessor, seeing himself in a strange Labyrinth, he was mightily confounded; for if he counsell'd him to receive them, that was to give his book the lie, and if he exhorted him to continue in his first resolution, that was the way to offend the Pope and his Kindred, and lose all his own Fortune.

At last he resolv'd :

Which he did, by counselling the Pope to receive his Kindred, and by printing over again those sheets which made mention of the Popes alienation from all humane affections. But the Printer refused to do it at his expences; so that the good Father was fain to have recourse to some of his devout Children, who out of charity payed for the reprinting of about twenty sheets.

No sooner had this new *Nipatismo* taken possession of the *Vatican*, but the people began to murmur against the Pope, making Palquins, and setting them up in every street. Thus he, who before was a Saint and Angel, was now become an Hypocrite and a Devil; and the belief of the *Romans*, concerning the Popes infallibility, was much changed, from that which they had receiv'd before from the Divines; for now they believ'd at least, that if the Pope could not erre by himself, yet his Nephews could make him erre: The Pope, who was before ador'd by the common people, became now contemptible, insomuch, that going one day to consecrate the Church of the Peace, which had been rebuilt by him, he receiv'd a vile affront; for the Curate of the Church, having rais'd a triumphal Arch before it, over which was the Popes Picture, with this Inscription, *Orietur in diebus nostris justitia & abundantia pacis*, some bold persons had the confidence to put an M before *orietur*, and change the C of *justi* into an N; so that then there was, *Ma-*

*rietur in diebus nostris iustitia & abundantia
panis.*

In the Academy of the Wits, they did recite and show Epigrams, which were very offensive to the Popes and his Families reputation, though all were allegorically veild over: In a word, they were counted the most ingenious, who could invent the sharpest sayings upon the Introduction of the *Nipotismo*.

But before we go any further, it will not be amiss, to see in what persons, and how qualified, the *Nipotismo* did consist: and I consider it in two wayes, that which is nearest in Consanguinity, and another, which is related at a greater distance, and we will omit the Women, that we may not be mistaken by so great a number as there would be with them.

Six Males from that *Nipotismo*, which is of a very near consanguinity to the Pope, that is, speaking of those that have at this present part in the government of Rome, and omitting the little Children.

These are then first, *Don Mario*, the Popes elder Brother; the Cardinal *Flavio Chigi*, who is *Don Mario's* Son; *Don Agostino*, and *Don Sigismondo*, who are Brothers, and Sons of another of the Popes Brothers, who died before *Alexander's* exaltation to the Popedom; and two other Brothers, who are Sons to one of the Popes Sisters, that

that was married in the Family of the Bichi; so that in all, there are one Brother, and five Nephews, which make a pretty compleat Nephewship.

Don Mario is five years older than the Pope, and though by consequence he be threescore and ten, yet he is strong and lusty. The Pope and he are very different in their constitution, humour, and actions; for the first is tall, the other low, the Pope is inclin'd to learning, *Don Mario* is strangely ignorant; the Pope is lean, and *Don Mario* is fat; the Pope is noble and generous, and *Don Mario* is covetous and miserable, thinking of nothing, but of gathering and heaping together of money, little troubling himself at the peoples murmurings; and yet they cry out more against him, than ever they did against *Don Tadeo*, nay, more than they did against *Donna Olympia* herself; he hath invented so many new subtleties to get money out of those Offices which are ordinarily bestowed upon the Popes nearest Relations, that the *Barbarines*, who thought themselves masters in that Craft, do remain astonish'd to see themselves outdone by a new beginner.

The Pope shews him the respect due to an elder Brother, and that is all; 'tis true, that of late he hath afforded him more liberty, and a greater share in the Government than he was wont to have; and he uses it to his advantage, missing no occasion to improve his fortune; nay, he is

so passionately bent on getting, that he ordinarily
 uses to say of a thing he does not like, *There is
 nothing to be got there*.

The good opinion which the Pope hath of his
 integrity, is the poison which corrupts all the
 present Government: for being possess'd to
 his advantage, he lets him do any thing, so he
 do but maintain plenty of Corn and Meat in
 Rome, and keep the people from murmuring; but
 things do not go well, nor with any honour to
 the Pope, for if *Don Mario* was honest and sincere
 in *Siena*, he not sooner came to Rome, but his
 chang'd his nature, and made it his business to
 grow rich by any means whatsoever, though the
 people send their cries up to Heaven against him,
 they come not to the Popes ears, who all this
 while thinks, *That Don Mario of Rome is Don
 Mario of Siena*, and thus is the mischief.

The Cardinal *Don Albani* his Son deserves
 neither to be praised, nor blamed for any thing
 that regards the Government of the Church, in
 which he is little concern'd; for having the
 Title of *Padrone* or *Master*, he exercises his Ma-
 stership in taking his pleasure, avoiding with all
 possible means to have any hand in business, lest
 he should perplex his mind, and be diverted
 from the taste of sensual delights, to which he hath
 given himself up.

In his Uncles last fit of sickness, that he might
 not be liable to the imputation of ignorance or

incapa-

inactivity, he bestir'd himself pretty well, and perform'd the duties belonging to so important a place as his is. His assiduity and care appeared much, and Embassadors, and people of business were pretty well satisfied with the good will he shew'd, being the apter to bear with the smallness of his sufficiency.

But as soon as his Uncle was upon his feet again, the Nephew began to withdraw his neck from the yoke, and not only gave over giving of audience, but resign'd himself sick, that no body might trouble him. 'Tis true, that he was really so sometimes out of debauchery, and is forced to keep his bed in good earnest. The Physicians then do never acquaint the Pope with the true cause of his indisposition, though often question'd upon it, because they are afraid of irritating him against his Nephew; who on his side gives them large presents to oblige them to secrecy.

He doth not much care to gather riches and treasure, for three reasons. The first is, because his Father is already too much inclin'd that way. The second, because he hath no desire to leave any thing to his Cozen Don Agostino. And the third, because he hath no Nephews to provide for, that branch of his family ending in him. So that he is content with the revenue of his place, which is above 200000 Crowns a year, which he spends nobly amongst his Comrades and Mistresses; it being a common report, that he hath already half a dozen Bastards by divers Curtizans; but

for my part I believe they believe him, and leave their children to his charge, as being able to keep them. He would without doubt enjoy his health better than he does, if he were temperate, for he is not above five and thirty years old, of a sanguine temper, with a good mixture of Melancholy, the colour of his Beard and Hair being the same with his Uncles.

In his Legation in France he got reputation, shewing himself noble and splendid, as also liberal on divers occasions; and certainly he would have been prodigal in his presents, if those Prelates that were with him had not counsel'd him to the contrary; so that he indeed lived after the French fashion, but his dependants after the Italian, that is, sparingly.

Don Agostino, Son to *Augusto Chigi*, and *Don Sigismond*, his Brother, are much in the Popes favour, and he hath for him much more real love, then for *Don Maria*, or the Cardinal *Florio* his Son.

Of *Don Sigismond* there is little to be said, only that the Pope doth every day bestow upon him some considerable benefice, waiting only till he be of age to make him Cardinal, being now in the year 1667 but 17 years old, which keeps the Pope from admitting him to that honour, though it is thought, that in the first promotion he will not fail to be created Cardinal, and indeed with a great deal more reason then Cardinal *Maldachini*, who was promoted for *Dona Olympia's* sake, at 18 years

of years old, though much more unworthy of it than *Don Elifimando*. 'Tis thought, that if the Pope should die before he were made Cardinal, his inclinations would rather encline him to marriage than to a Batchelours life. But I am not of that opinion, for *Don Agostino* his Brother hath prevented him in that, by giving, and procuring for him no other but Church Revenues, as Abbeyes, and other Benefices, of which, if he should go to marry, he must be devested, and then he would be so poor that he would not meet with a match suitable to his quality.

As for *Don Agostino*, Fortune seems to have espoused his Interest; for from his first coming to Rome till this present time, all things have succeeded very prosperously, and much to his satisfaction, having met with a match according to his desire, and a Principality, which was his hearts wish; so he hath nothing left to long for.

This abundance of content hath so taken possession of his Soul, that it hath quite blotted out the remembrance of his former poor condition, inso much that being puff'd up with pride and insolence, he seems to take notice of the Civilities that the Gentlemen of Rome offer him when he goes through the streets; whertupon he hath contracted the Names of haughty and arrogant, and with them the hatred of almost all the Romans.

He never had any inclination to learning; but he hath a good natural disposition for all those exercises which become a Gentleman, and in which he behaveth himself very handsomly: he is about 30 years of Age, of a jovial disposition, loving company and mirth, and little troubling himself to purchase riches and treasure, being sure that there are enough to do it for him.

And indeed *Don Mario*, and the rest of the *Kindred*, think of getting what they can every one for themselves; but the Pope takes no care; but for *Don Agostino*, whose purse he has resolv'd to fill as full as he can; and we may conjecture of the Pope's tender affection for *Don Agostino* by three things which he hath done for him since his coming to *Rome*.

The first was, that the *Nipontino* had no sooner taken possession of the *Vatican*, but it pretended to give *Laws*, not only to *Rome*, but to the Pope himself, and that in the dispensation of his favours to, and thus it was.

Don Mario, the Pope's elder Brother, being the head of the Family, did pretend that, one being to marry to preserve the Family, it did belong to his Son *Flavio*, and the rather, because his inclination did lead him that way; but the Pope, who had a great affection for the memory of his Brother *Augusto*, refused to condescend to *Don Mario's* desire, but declared *Flavio* Cardinal *Pedane*, and resolv'd to marry *Don Agostino*, little

the doubting himself at his elder Brothers gain-
 saying of it, and wishing to know you of the same, you
 From hence sprung some dissension, which from
 day to day encreases between the Family of *Don*
Agostino, and that of *Don Mario*, to the Popes
 great discontent, who to sweeten a little the bit-
 terness of this Pill, gave *Don Mario* leave to call
 his Daughters, and their Husbands to Rome,
 where he desir'd they should be respected as his
 Relations, and he accorded to *Don Agostino*, that
 his brother *Sigismund* might also be sent for, to
 whom he gave good Church Revenues. This
 seem'd to have pleas'd them all, and exteriorly
 they shew'd consent and satisfaction, but secretly,
 and in their hearts, they do like right *Italians*,
 that is, preserve the memory of their injuries, and
 adhere to bearing ill. And to begin, The Car-
 dinal *Nicolas* little care'd to get rich, and if he
 do get, he spends it most prodigally, being re-
 solved to leave *Don Agostino* as little as he can.
 This dissension, which the Cardinal makes of
 his revenue, cannot chuse but displease *Don Agos-
 tino*, seeing that it is not so much the Cardinals
 inclinations, as a desire to offend him, that causes
 this prodigality; whereupon he infers likewise,
 that that vast heap of treasure which *Don Mario*
 hath got together will not be for him, but for his
 Daughters, who are married into other Fami-
 lies; and I believe in this he is not mistaken, for
Don Mario's affection to his Daughters is very
 great.

The

The Pope in the mean time can scarce show any kindness to any one of them; but it is presently taken ill by the others. *Doth my Cozen,* says *Don Agostino*, *think it so inconsiderable a thing to be Cardinal Padrone, and manage all State affairs, to have the disposal of all favours at Court, to treat with Embassadors, to have the key of the Paper Closet, to govern the Chancery and Secretary at his pleasure? What can be desire more than to be a second Pope!*

But the Cardinal answers all this by saying, that the care of business, and the Title Padrone are not things given him out of a design to honour him, for they are his perpetual torment, and keep him from rest in the day time, and sleep in the night. *But doth my Cozen,* says the Cardinal, *think it little to have been made Prince of a Principality hereditary to his Family; to have married a lovely Princess, with the enjoyment of all pleasures, the applause of the Court, and the liberty of living as he pleases? are these things to be compar'd to the weight of a Cardinals employment, in whose death all dyen wish him, and hath not the satisfaction to see himself re-produced in this world?*

In these duels of competition is the present Nipotismo perpetually engaged; depriving themselves of the enjoyment of that happiness which their good fortune hath so liberally bestowed upon them. 'Tis true, that these complaints are made but to their nearest friends and confidants.

Don Agostino, in my true, is much more in the right, than the Cardinal, the Pope being much more oblig'd to advance him than any of them; for he is Son to that *Augusto*, Brother of the Pope; who maintain'd the Pope at his expenses in the University; supplying him afterwards with goods summes of money from time to time, without which he had undoubtedly been stop't in his course, and never been able to arrive to that pitch of Grandeur he is now in: Therefore *Don Mario* is unjust, and *Don Agostino* very just in his complaints; for the kindness which the Pope receiv'd from his Father, can expect no less than a Noble retribution to the Son, whereas all that the Pope doth for *Don Mario* and his Son, 'tis out of pure favour, without any desert.

These jealousies, however they may be prejudicial to the Popes Family; yet are they very advantageous to the Church; for if they were all agreed, woe would be to Rome, and the Church: which would be sucked by them all, like so many Bees; but being divided, they stand in fear of one another, and dare not do unbecoming actions: for while *Don Mario* would have all to himself, and leave nothing for his Nephew, and that on the other side, the Nephew would have all for himself, and deprive his Uncle and Cozen of their share, they hinder one another, and Rome and the Church fare the better for it.

The second demonstration of singular affection which the Pope bears to *Don Agostino*, is his Marriage

signs: for as soon as he saw him, he liked him so well, that he resolv'd to match him with the greatest fortune of Rome, which was then the Princess *Borghese*, daughter to the Princes of *Rossini*, very rich, and having but one sickly brother; and therefore looked upon as an heiress; but however, her portion was two hundred thousand crowns in money, besides the hereditary estate, which was in her brothers hands.

This match did not at first succeed with that easiness that was imagin'd, though the Pope employ'd in the compassing of it, the Jesuites Rhetorick; for the Prince, Uncle to the young Lady, had a greater inclination for the Son of the Great Constable, *Colonna*, an accomplish'd young Gentleman, and already much in the Ladies favour. Therefore to avoid the match, he pretended, that indeed he did take it as a great honour to have his Niece so ally'd to his Holiness, but did desire to see *Don Agostino* better provided for and in possession of some eminent rank in the world, that his Niece might still maintain the degree of Princess she had already. Upon this the Pope did every day strain himself to make his Nephew appear greater and greater, giving him places of great profit and honour, and endeavouring to buy him a Principality, which at last he effected; and though it were some disgust to him to see the Prince stand thus upon his terms, and make no other account of the honour of his Alliance; yet seeing that there was not in Rome such another match to be found out, he did continually keep some

Irons

sons in the first. Above all others, Father Paul-
lino a Jesuite did begin himself in it, and as he
was one day pressing the Prince, who told him,
that Don Agostino was not yet sufficiently pro-
vided for, he answer'd, *If the Pope should dye to-
day Don Agostino would have ready money enough
to buy ten Principalities.*

While things were thus treating, the Prince
Borghese, Tutor to the young Lady, died suddenly,
so that she fell into the Tutelage of the Princess
her Grandmother, a Lady of incomparable piety,
and one who shames by her good life, even
the Nuns themselves, she does so much outdoe
them.

The Princess of *Rossano* is her Daughter, and
Mother to the young Lady, and she to get the
Popes favour, and have some part in the *Vatican*,
which she hath alwayes been ambitious of, ac-
cepted the Propositions, and contributed much to
the Conclusion of the March, which was almost
broke off, in which Don Agostino hath a great deal
of reason to be happy, having a lovely, handsome
Lady, with two hundred thousand Crowns to her
portion.

The Pope was transported with joy; and being
naturally very generous, he resolv'd that the
Wedding should be kept with all the magnificence
imaginable, having assigned to Don Agostino a hun-
dred thousand Crowns for the expences of it,
which he accordingly layed out most nobly.

Besides

Besides this sum which was spent in Balls, Feastings, and Banquets, he presented the Bride with Diamonds, Pearls, and the Rose, which every year is given to some Prince to the value of 30000 Crowns, and yet in this very time the Catholick Religion was much endanger'd in Germany.

Don Agostino after his Wedding was over, became so arrogant, that not being able to contain his passion, he was heard to say these words, *That he had a greater joy to have got the better of his Rival Colonna, then to have obtain'd so great a Princess for Wife*; which coming to the *Colonnas* Ears, the Constable the Father made answer, *That his Son had reason to have desir'd the Princess, because he had merit enough to obtain her; but that Don Agostino was beholding to his Uncles Authority, without which he had never had her.*

And indeed the young *Colonna* lost nothing by staying; three or four year after he married Cardinal *Mazarine's* Niece, the Princess *Maria Mancini*, a most accomplish'd Lady, and one who brought him above a hundred thousand Crowns to her portion.

As for the third demonstration of the Popes love to *Don Agostino*, it appear'd in the great ardour and desire he showed to make him a Prince; 'tis true, that the Articles of Marriage carried, that out of the Ladies portion there should be bought

a Principality, as if *Don Agostino* had not so much deserv'd the Princess as the Popes Nephew, as in the consideration of his being a Prince which was a little infamous to the Pope.

And yet for all this the Pope would not suffer that the Principality should be bought out of the Princess's portion, but with a new generosity gave to *Don Agostino* seventy thousand Crowns, with which he bought the Principality of *Farnese*, in the Patrimony of *St. Peter*, and was declared Prince, not only by the Pope, but by the Emperour, the said Principality being a fief of the Empire.

To these three effects of kindness adde the desire that the Pope hath to gather riches for *Don Agostino*, for whom he knows that none of the rest will provide, and certainly you will conclude him to be a very loving Uncle.

The other two Nephews are, as I have said, Sons to one of the Popes sisters, married in the Family of *Bichi*; one of whom is Cardinal and Bishop of *Osimo*; and the other Knight of *Malta*, and General of the Popes Gallies.

The Cardinal at his first coming to *Rome* was not very acceptable to the Pope; as well because he thought he had done enough in promoting him to the dignity of Cardinal, as, because he wanted capacity for any high employment. 'Tis true, that he had not been long at Court, but he began

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to lay aside a certain simplicity, which seemed natural to him, and with which he govern'd very well his Bishoprick, and endeavour'd to learn the Arts of Government and Negotiation, whereupon his Cozen *Floro* gave a good character of him to the Pope, not out of any design to oblige him, but out of a lazy principle which made him glad to find out any body upon whom he might lay a part of his burden, and this recommendation was not without good effects for Cardinal *Bichi*, for since that time the Pope hath admitted him into divers particular Congregations, and does make use of him in some occurrences, but very seldome, the said Cardinal; being not in truth a man of any great wisdom.

The other Brother, who is Prior of his Order, and General of the Popes Gallies, seems to be more favourably looked upon; For the Pope often calls him to him, and grants him many more favours than to the other.

This Gentleman hath got a great reputation in the World of a very ingenious person, and well versed in all Sciences; but for my part I could never find out the root, whence did spring so much desert, for he never did any thing in the world worthy an applause: he hath been sent above four times with his Gallies to the help of the *Venetians* in *Candia*, where he never did any thing like a Knight of *Malta*; for he was always afraid of fighting, even when he was cover'd by the *Venetian* Gallies, who always were the first that engaged

engaged their lives and honour.

And all this proceeded, because he did not trust his people that he had aboard; and he did not trust them, because he knew they had reason to hate him, as having defrauded them of their pay; for he did appropriate to himself most of that money which the Pope allowed for the entertaining of his Souldiers and Stewes, who never were worse provided for than under this Noble Gentlemans command.

But I think that it is the complements which the Prior *Bisbi* makes to every body that deceives them, and they are so taken with his Civility as naturally the *Romans* are, that they in revenge give him those qualities which he is far from possessing.

His intention is to be Cardinal, whereupon every time he goes to see his brother he puts on his Brothers red Hat, and tries it, to see how it sits upon his head. But I am afraid he will loose his longing; for the *Nipotismo* of the *Chigi* are much against it, and the Pope himself hath declar'd that he will not make two brothers Cardinals at the same time. With all this the Prior Courts his Cozens with the profoundest respect, and the greatest submission that the lowest Courtier in *Rome* would employ, and all to no purpose; for they all see that he aims at the red Cap, which they are resolv'd to hinder him from attaining. And the reason why they are so averse to his promotion is, because they know him to be hu-

morous, and apt to sow discord and dissention amongst them, which I believe he would go near to do, if he had the liberty of talking, which a Cardinal hath.

Now if we will say something of the Women, who also serve to make up the Nipotismo, we must begin with the Lady *Berenice Don Mario's* Wife.

This Lady is of the Noble Family of *La Givia*, one of the considerablest of the City of *Sienna*, but ill provided for by Fortune. Her husband loves her, and indeed she hath qualities that do deserve his love, being very witty, and civil; she had not been two year in *Rome*, but she was mistress of all the Court Arts, and way of living, to the great satisfaction of Embassadors, and Princes; who according to the custome of the Court go to wait upon her sometimes, where they are not a little surpriz'd to hear her discourse so well and easily of things which they only which have been bred all their life amongst Queens and Princeesses can talk of, and they are the more pleased, because she does shew amidst all this capacity a great deal of modesty, which gains the affection and respect of those that have occasion to treat with her.

Don Mario her Husband is above eighteen years elder than she, who is not above three and fifty, and is so fresh at that age, that one would scarce give her forty, she being subject to no infirmity at all. At her first coming to *Rome*,
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the Pope declar'd, that he would see her very seldom, giving her leave to demand any favour by her Husbands means, but nothing by word of mouth; and he did this to shew, what a horror he had for that impudence, with which *Donna Olympia* used the Pope *Innocent*, to his great dishonour, and it's thought, that one of the great reasons, that made this Pope keep his Kindred at such a distance for a great while, was, because he was afraid of bringing his Brothers Wife into the *Vatican* with his Brother, the very name of a Sister in law being a most odious thing to the *Romans*, for *Donna Olympia's* sake; but indeed, *Donna Berenice* is another sort of Woman, and one who shews modesty and reservedness in all her carriage, being unwilling to meddle with any thing to which she is not call'd.

There is nothing to be said of this Ladies Daughters, except that the *Popedome* is come in good time into the Family of the *Ghigi*, for else they and their Husbands had been brought very low; for when they were married they had nothing, and their Husbands but very little, which was almost consum'd by the charge of children coming on every day.

The Pope, to content the Father and Mother, gave these Ladies leave to appear in *Rome*, where they were receiv'd and treated very obligingly, by their brother the Cardinal *Paccone*, and were also visited by all the *Roman*

Nobility; and by the Ambassadors and Princes.

Don Agostino was also very kind to them, though with reserve, being somewhat jealous to see them so near the Pope, whose benevolence and good will he would fain ingross for the Masculine line of the Family; And in publick the Pope did not give any demonstrations of particular favour to them, that he might not increase *Don Agostino's* jealousies; and the Courts murmurs; but in private he bestowed upon each of them three thousand Crowns; and in giving them this money, he said two or three times, That *what he did was out of charity; and that it was not his design to dissipate and spend the Churches Revenue upon his Kindred.* And these Ladies, who were born in *Siena*, and not in *Spain*, were not so scrupulously addicted to preserve the honour of their Gentility, as to refuse such Alms, as a *Spaniard* would have done; And I believe, Reader, that you would be of the same mind, and be well pleased, if any body would give you a good sum of money, for the love of God, and out of pure charity.

Besides this, *Don Mario*, and his Lady, have without doubt, been liberal to them out of that heap of Treasure, which they so well know how to get together; so that these Ladies journey to *Rome*, hath been, no doubt, a golden journey for them, which we may conjecture,

lecture, by the state they live in now at *Siena* having bought divers Lands and Houses.

This is all that hitherto can be said of this *Nepotismo*: But besides these, the Pope hath another *Nepotismo*, of a remoter consanguinity; who are so many, that they are innumerable; and the Pope hath been hitherto averse to their coming to *Rome*, I believe, because he is unwilling to disoblige the nearest *Nepotismo*; but if his Pontificate last, as it is thought it may, the Pope, who is naturally inclin'd to do good, may by little and little give them a share in his good fortune, by Employments, Benefices, or some ways.

Neither doth the Pope for all this, set aside his own content, which is, to erect noble Buildings and stately Edifices, wherefore he hath doubled the Workmen, in that vast enterprize of *Saint Peter's Church*, being very desirous to see it finished; and having often said to some Cardinals, his Confidents, that he should not die content, if he dyed before that were ended.

The *Nepotismo* is strangely displeased at this expensive humour of the Popes, seeing him every day changing and straightning some Street, and mending some publick Edifice, for they would that that money were spared for them and the Family of the *Chigi*. Some dayes ago, *Don Mario*, and *Don Agostino*, went about to

put some other less expensive design into the Popes head, and particularly to oblige him, to give over the Porch of Saint *Peter*, which is of so vast a charge: but the Pope is not to be remov'd from his inclination, and takes it very ill, that they should controul him in his pleasure; he, who not only doth not controul them, but hath given them all the means they have; and he persists in this resolution the rather, because he is resolved to have the glory of this Enterprize, and not leave it to his Successour, who by a little addition would perfect so great a Work, and then place his Armes in the front of it as his.

Of late, *Alexander* hath been fain to furnish to another expence, which is the Legation of the Cardinal *Padrone*, to meet the Empress at *Milan*; and the *Spaniards* pretend, that he appear'd in greater splendour, than he did at the Court of *France*, as well to win their good will, as to please his own ambition, in being seen in such pomp, in a place where most Ambassadors of Princes were to meet, nay, and many Princes themselves.

To say truth, the Pope deserves no small praises for his noble inclination, in honouring sometimes one Prince, sometimes another, but particularly for the zeal and piety he hath shewed, in the choice of those persons that he hath promoted to be Cardinals; for in three or four promotions he hath alwayes picked out those, who

who were most worthy of this eminent Dignity, having in that little regard to any bodies recommendation, if the Subjects themselves did not answer the expectation conceiv'd of them; and whosoever would enquire into the life of these his Creatures, will be satisfied of their integrity and learning, and confess, that many of them are worthy of the Popedom; and it may be, it may fall upon some of them, after the death of *Alexander*, who now thinks of little less than of dying; for at his first coming to be Pope, he thought so much of it, that now being weary of those thoughts, he thinks of nothing but living.

All his drift now is, to oblige the Cardinals to a good correspondence with *Don Agostino*; but he perpetually disobliging them with his haughty carriage, 'tis thought, that after the Popes death they will little regard his recommendations in the choice of a Successour, if things do not much change.

I would say something of the future Conclave; but I think it is to no purpose, for the Pope doth little think of leaving this world, though the Cardinals pretenders do every day long for his death, that they may bring another *Niposismo* in play. And some are very much convinced, that he cannot live long, considering the augmentation of his late indispositions; whereupon those Cardinals, that compose the flying Squadron, have often met in secret, to agree

green about a Successour; but indeed, I think, that we ought to wish, that *Alexander* may live yet, for in the present conjuncture of affairs, his death would do no less than bring trouble to *Italy* and all *Christendome*, which God forbid.

The Pope doth every day endeavour to get a protection for his *Nepotismo*, and would fain have the *Spaniards* declare *Cardinal Chigi* Protector of that Crown; and the Popes Nuntio in *Spain* hath made great instances to obtain it, that they, the Family of the *Chigi*, might be strengthened: but I do not think he will obtain it, for the *Spaniards* are too great lovers of themselves to protect a decaying Power, which will rather be a burden than a help to their Monarchy.

FINIS.

Il Nipotismo di Roma:
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF THE
POPE'S
NEPHEWS,
FROM
The time of **SIXTUS IV.**
to the Death of the last Pope.
ALEXANDER VII.

The Second Part.

**Written Originally in *Italian*, in the
year 1667. and Englished by *W. A.***

LONDON,

**Printed for John Starkey, at the Miter near
Temple-Bar in Fleet-street, 1673.**

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Tavern in Strand, 1677.

THE
PRINTER
TO THE
READER.

TO satisfy the curiosity of an infinite number of Persons, who, having seen scarce any thing else of the Nipotismo besides the Title, do enquire after the Book with much earnestness, I have made haste to Print this Second Part; that so you might have it compleat; and I doubt not but you will be infinitely pleased with it. It is true, my intention was, in conformity to the Authors, to have waited yet a little longer; because that Affairs in Rome seem inclinable to change: But it was beyond my power to keep the Rain, which was already in the air, from falling to the ground; and I was forced to yield to the curiosity of so many Inquisitive persons. To which the Author was the more willing; because he had a desire to be rid of this Nipotismo, that he might give himself up to the composing of some other Books of no less curiosity: And I, on my side, have been desirous to free my Press, that I might set
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To the Reader.

it on work again for a Book, which no doubt will be very welcome to you.

It is intended, Europa Morta, and comes from an Author who is a sworn enemy of Flattery. The Subject of the Book is all Politicks, and very sharply handled, shewing the defects of all the Kingdoms and Republicks of Europe, which they are now subject to, for want of most of that worth and virtue, in whom it was anciently so abounding.

Many Persons, that have read the Manuscript, are very pressing for the publishing of it; which I hope will be done within this two months at least. And I doubt not but I shall satisfy that expectation which I now raise in you; for there you shall meet with the relation of some Accidents which hitherto have been kept close from the ears of the Vulgar. In it Praises are dispensed with measure, and blame with justice; and so I hope this Nippon will custom you to the Lecture of such Books, and make your pleasure the greater when you shall meet with the Europa Morta, which is Universal.

Farewel,

Il Nipotismo di Roma :
OR, THE
HISTORY
OF
The Popes **NEPHEWS.**

The Second Part.

The FIRST BOOK.

The Contents:

IN which is treated, of the mischief which the Pope-
dome brings upon the Popes. Of two particular Ex-
amples about that. Of two Protestant Gentlemen
that went to Rome to see the Court, and the Church-
mens way of living, and what came of it. Of the scan-
dal which the Hereticks receive from the Popes kin-
dred. Of the particular reasons which move the
Popes to the advancement of their Kindred: which
are the love they bear to their own Blood, the conser-
vation of their Persons, and the policy of their Go-
vernment. Of the aim of those Popes that intro-
duc'd the title of Cardinal Padrone. Of the difficul-
ties which the Princes find in having access and treat-
ing with the Pope. Of a particular case in Sixtus
the

the fifth's time. Of the care the Popes take to prevent their being poisoned. Of the miseries of the Ecclesiastick State. Of the mischief the Church endures because the Popedom is not Hereditary. Of the Popes Nephews, who look upon the Popedom as their own. Of the principal reasons which oblige the Popes to call their Kindred about them. Of the difficulty the Popes would meet with in diving into Princes secrets without the assistance of their Nephews. How Urban did instruct his Nephews. How Cardinal Astalli was introduced into the Nipotiſmo. Of the opinion of Cardinal Mazirine about that business. Of the great Authority which Gregory the 15th. gave to Cardinal Ludovisio his Nephew. Of the Republick of Venice, which obliges the Kindred of their dead Duke to satisfy by Fines for those Errors which the Duke did commit while he was alive. Of some particularities about the Accident that befell the Duke of Crequy. Of a discourse held to Monſignor Raſponi by the Pope. Of the way that the Popes have to conceal the Secrets of their Court. Of the reasons why the said Court is so Magnificent. Of the Friendships of the Cardinals towards Princes, and of the Correspondence of Princes with the said Cardinals. Of the passage of a certain Cardinal from the Spanish Faction to the French. Of the Spiritual power of the Pope, and how it is upheld by the Temporal; and of the nature of Money in Church-mens hands.

ALL that we have said hitherto, is but the Foundation of what we have to say: For to what end would it be to have seen the Nipotiſmo in Rome, if we did not see Rome in the Nipotiſmo?

And

And we have been curious to pry into that which the *Popes* have done for their Kindred, we may much more justly examine that which the Kindred does for the *Popes*.

A *German* Prelate, who now lives, and has some Opinions very different from the profession he makes of a Church-man; that is, Who is more Heretick than Catholick; does upon all occasions, and whensoever he happens into any company, where there is a liberty of talking, profess his mind in few words, and without any ambiguity, by saying, *That the Popes Kindred acquire this world by their Uncles Indulgence; and that the Duke loses the other world by his Nephews Vices:*

This opinion, which by many Catholicks would be condemned as Heretick, has nevertheless a great foundation in reason; and I am sure that the most able and ingenious men of the Court of *Rome* do allow of it, and maintain it, as being a Prelate's opinion.

David, who was King, Priest, and Prophet, was continually in fear of being damned for others sins; and, as we see, did every day desire of God to be delivered from that imputation: And yet the *Popes* not only do not apprehend that they may be damned for their Kindreds sins, but do furnish them with the means of offending his Divine Majesty. Certainly, the *Popes* Relations would take another course if they thought they were out of the way to Heaven; neither would they be so covetous in heaping riches together, if they knew that the treasure of the Church is but in trust, and not in propriety, to the *Popes*.

The Duke *Valentine*, Son to *Alexander* the sixth, did commit all sort of crimes imaginable, breaking

both Divine and Humane Laws without any regard or consideration. But that which was worst of all, was, that he covered his Vices with the Cloak of the *Popes* Authority: Saying, whensoever he was about to commit a crime: *That he did very well know what he was about to do was just; for his Father, who did give him leave to do it, had the Holy Ghost.*

This is the mischief that the Popedom does to the *Popes* or rather, that the *Popes* do to the Popedom. For to say true, the Popedom would be holy if the *Popes* were so too: But they do not desire it, or they cannot desire it, being governed by their Relations; if not as *Popes*, at least as private persons.

To this purpose I remember a Story which hapned about twenty years ago, and to which I give the greater credit; because I have it from a worthy person, and one who heard the words which were said.

A *Swedish* Gentleman had left *Stockholm*, the Capital of the Kingdom, with a design to travel over all *Europe*, as Gentry uses to do: But his principal aim was to be instructed in the way of Worship of the Church of *Rome*, and be well informed of the difference between the Protestant and Catholick Religion, with a resolution to follow that which he should like best; and he thought no place fitter for his design than *Rome*, as being the City which gives the rule to others, having in it the Head of the Church, and an infinity of Church-men and Prelates.

In his way thither he met with another *German*, a Protestant, who had the same design; whereupon, having contracted a great Friendship together, they continued their Journey, and hapned to come to *Rome* in the beginning of the holy Week, which is the week before *Easter*.

Being

Being lodged, they began by little and little to frequent the Churches, see the Ceremonies, enquire into the *Pope's Power*, into his Court, and a thousand other particularities, all relating to the same end. The Magnificence of the *Popes Habit*, the rich Ornaments of the Altars, the variety of Ceremonies, the Majesty of the Cardinals, and Prelates, the Devotion of the Monks and Fryars, and the great concourse of people to the Churches, did at first surprize these young Gentlemen; and inflame in them that desire which curiosity had already kindled.

Having observed all these things with great care and exactness, they began to inform themselves of the Civil Power of the *Pope*; of the *Struggles* of the Court; of the Government of the City and State. And in their exact Inquisition they found that indeed all that policy and Humane Wit could produce was to be seen in the Church-Government, and did not much disapprove of it: But no sooner had they (following still their first curiosity) pryed into the business of the *Nipotismo*, and discovered the interests of the Nephew towards the Uncle, and the Uncle towards the Nephew; but they presently resolved to return home, and live and die in the Protestant Religion.

The *German*, whether it was that he had dived into the secret of the *Nipotismo*, or for some other reason, was not altogether averse from changing his Religion; though by no means he would not remain in Rome: But the *Swede* was so scandalized at the Church-mens lives, that having conceived a perfect hatred for them, he said to the *German*, *That he would never be the Subject of a Bishop, who should be the Slave of his own Relations.*

Of this Gentleman's opinion there are many, not only in Protestant Countreys, but in the middle of *Italy* it self; and I wish to God, that many of those sins, which lie so heavy upon the *Romans* consciences, had not been occasioned by the scandal which they continually receive from the *Nepotismo*.

That which I have related of a *Swede* is not much different from what I have to say of an English or Scottish man, I know not well which; but I am a very fit person to relate the Story, for I was present at the dispute which he had with a French Bishop: which was thus:

This Stranger had been two years in *Rome*, in which time he had had divers occasions of being known to the Pope and his Nephews, as likewise of knowing them; and had been infinitely scandalized to see the small care the Pope did take to correct his Nephews extravagancies both in Morals & Politicks: But above all, he was much grieved to see, that the Pope had taken out of the Treasure of the Church the richest Jewels, to bestow them upon his Nephews; and that they made no scruple of robbing the Church to enrich themselves. Having met in *France* with this French Bishop, they fell upon the discourse of Religion. The Bishop perceiving the ill impressions he had received at *Rome*, thought it was a part of his duty to endeavour to blot them out of this Gentlemans mind, by telling him, That it was impossible to be saved out of the Church of *Rome*. But all that he could say was to no purpose, for the Protestant could scarce afford him audience, but impatiently interrupting him, told him, That it was a hard matter that the Pope could save others, since he did give his own Nephews a most inevitable occasion of damnation.

Every

Every day the Casuists are disputing, *Whether or no a Thief may be saved without restitution of his theft, if he be in impossibility to do it?* And they all agree, that he must either make amends by restitution, or be damned: If this be so, how is it possible for the Popes Nephews, if the greatest part of their Revenues are the spoils of the Church, and got by unlawful means, the Popes having raised that very money, which they are so proud of, either out of dead mens graves, or the veins of the living.

Though this be true, and that the mischief, which the Popes receive from their Kindred be very great; yet it is a necessary one, and so necessary, that many are of opinion, that those Popes who do forbear advancing their Relations are but small Politicians.

Three Reasons do particularly move the Popes to call their Relations to them: (1) The affection which naturally we bear to our blood and Kindred, (2) The conservation of their Persons, and (3) the Policy of their Government.

For the first, I hold him little better than a Beast, that has no tye of Consanguinity upon him, having many Relations that need his help; none but barbarous people are ignorant of those Laws of nature and are not altogether deprived of the use of them neither.

This love to ones Relations increases as the Relations themselves do multiply. And we may say, that love naturally descends; for in old people their love is greatest to their Grand children, and the fifth generation still carry the old mans affections from the third and fourth. From hence proceeds, that the Popes, who ordinarily are old, are so passionate for the advancement of their Nephews, for whom often

they hazard their reputaajons in this world, and their souls in the next.

With our Kindred there is no *Medium* to be observed; we must either love them tenderly, and do for them all that lies in our power: Or we must hate them perfectly, and become cruel. It is not possible to be indifferent, and do them neither good nor evil; that would be to be neither man nor beast, which is impossible.

There has been some *Popes*, who in the beginning of their Reign, out of Zeal and Piety, have shewed themselves averse from their Kindred; not only refusing to favour them, but seeking out all occasions of mortifying them. But what folly, what devillish policy, what false hypocrisie is this? For my part, I call such a disposition a vicious humour, which soon passes out of them, or destroys them, Nature it self being offended at this so unnatural a proceeding.

Adrian the sixth, *Marcel* the second, *Urban* the seventh, *Leo* the tenth, were all *Popes* very severe to their kindred, having all sworn solemnly at their Election never to admit their Kindred into *Rome*. And *Adrian* the sixth was so extravagant that he persecuted them: For he refused to give a recompense to one of his Relations who had done the Church very good service, only because he was his Relation.

But Divine Providence, which delights not to see Nature despis'd, reveng'd this indiscreet Zeal upon these *Popes*; for they all liv'd but a very little after their Creation. *Adrian* liv'd but one year: *Marcello*, *Urban*, and *Leo* liv'd all three together, not two Months compleat.

So *Innocent* the Eighth, *Julius* the Second, *Pius* the Fifth, and our *Alexander* that now reigns, were at first strangely averſe from their Kindred, which was interpreted by the people for nothing but Hypocriſie and Policy, that they might acquire the Title of Saints and Holy Men; for, a little while after they were ſetled in their Kingdom, and in the Opinion of the Vulgar, they all found out ſome excuſe or other to authorize their change; and particularly our *Alexander*, who is now as kind as he was ſevere at firſt, And for my part I muſt confeſs, that I always laughed at *Alexander*, for his pretended zeal, in keeping his Relations at a diſtance; and I never began to have a true reſpect for him, and believe him really a Saint, till he had brought them to *Rome*.

And if Chriſt himſelf has left us written in the Goſpel, *That we ought not to deſpiſe our own Fleſh*. how can any *Pope* juſtifie an averſion to his Kindred?

Therefore I do not like that Answer of our *Pope Alexander* to the Cardinal *Medici*, who did make it his buſineſs to oblige the *Pope* to call *Don Mario* to *Rome*; for he answered this Cardinals Prayers and Entreaties with theſe words of Chriſt, *They are our Brothers and Siſters that do the Will of the Lord*; as if his Brother had done the Will of the Devil. And in the example of Chriſt he was miſtaken; for he did not deſpiſe his Brothers, as having never had any: wherefore his Words were myſtical, and contained ſome more ſecret ſenſe. But we ſee that Chriſt himſelf did ſhew particular favour to his Relations, as to the two *Johns*, the *Baptiſt*, and the *Apoſtle*; declaring one to be the greateſt of Prophets, and giving to the other the liberty of laying his head in his lap; But more than that, he recommended his proper Mo-

ther the Blessed Virgin, to the Apostle *John*; and all the Evangelists own, that he was Christs Favourite, and his Beloved.

After this Example, we need no other; and no body can be so bold as to pretend, That it is Piety not to own ones Relations, if Christ himself lov'd his so dearly.

But the *Popes* are not so much to blame, as those that blame the *Popes* for their affections to their Kindred: For, alas! the *Popes* are Men, as we are; and, as such, ought to be allowed something of our fragility. But in what a *Labyrinth* are they engaged? For if they are really averse and cruel to their own Blood, then Nature, Heaven, the Example of Christ, and all the Reason of the World, does condemn them for inhumane, ungrateful, and barbarous.

And if they are kind, and do receive them into *Rome*, advance them, give them places and Honours, then Pasquins, Murmurs, Raileries, Affronts, and a thousand Tales of them, are the recompence they are to expect from the Vulgar, who send their Cries to Heaven, and their Complaints about the World against them.

Those *Popes* that first invented the Title of *Cardinal Padrone*, had it may be a mind to imitate our Saviour, who declared *John* the Evangelist his Cofin, to be his Favourite and beloved Disciple: For *Gregory* the Fifteenth was wont to call his Nephew *Ludoviso*, his beloved *John*; though his Name was *Lewis*; and he did so to shew, That since Christ declared in favour of his Cofin, the *Popes* might also declare in favour of their Nephews.

For my part, I am of opinion, that let them do what they will, it is not in their power not to love them.

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Relations, and to abstain from doing of them all the good imaginable. And we have seen the experience of this in *Alexander* the Seventh, who made as if he had had no affection for them, but Nature soon made him lay aside this Mask, and profess himself a Man, as the rest.

This is then one of the Reasons that move the Popes to be so tender of their Kindreds Advantages: But there is a second, which is not any ways inferior to this, which is the preservation of their proper Person.

One of the greatest misfortunes of a Princely Life, is the perpetual care and solicitude they are in, of preserving themselves. Their Goodness is often the subject of their Neighbours Envy. If they be wicked, they are hated by their own Subjects. So that often they are in doubt which they shall chuse to be, Good or bad.

Was there a greater Prince than *Henry* the Third of France? Was there ever any thing more magnanimous and good, than *Henry* the Fourth his Successor? And yet their Greatness, their Bounty, and their Generosity, could not preserve their Persons, but saw their blood shed most miserably by the hands of barbarous Murderers.

But was there ever a better Prince in the World than the late King of England, *Charles* the First, who had no fault but that he was too good? And yet such Royal goodness could not preserve him (I tremble to speak of it) from the barbarous hands of his own Subjects; and upon an ignominious Scaffold, was forced to lose his Life by a fatal Axe.

What are Kingdoms and States to any body, if they must be perpetually from morning to night busied

ed about their own preservation? And what a misfortune to a Man is a Kingdom, if to preserve himself from his own Subjects, he must be fain to raise Cittadels and build Castles in all the places where he goes, that he can never sleep, if Guards and Sentinels do not watch for him? Certainly a Subject's condition, that takes his rest without fear, is much more to be valued, than the perpetual perplexity of a fearful Prince.

The Popes nevertheless are these unfortunate men, and are more exposed to the danger of being made away, than all the Princes of *Christendom*. For if any body be so bold and wicked as to wish and desire the death of a Prince whose Crown is Hereditary, yet he stops in his Enterprize, and considers, That he must fear the Sons Vengeance. Those Men who consented to the death, or, to say better, pronounced Sentence upon the late King of *England*, wheresoever they are now, they do without doubt repent their Action; and if they had ever thought of the happy Restauration of *Charles* the Second, they had dealt otherwise with his Father. So that I must say, by the leave of those *Cromwellian* Politicians, That they were but pittiful ones that could not foresee that. Wo be to those that offend a Prince, in hopes that his Heir will forget the offence.

This Reason procures some Security to Princes of an Hereditary Kingdom, and makes the Popes endeavour to find out some means also to secure themselves by their Kindred: For it is well known how many Popes have been poysoned and made away, sometimes by Emperours, sometimes by the People, sometimes by particular Persons; and yet no body has ever taken upon them to revenge their death. And why?

why? Because that their Kindred, not being Heirs of their Power, are not in a capacity to ~~show~~ their resentment; and are much more busied in getting into the next Pope's favour, who is ordinarily their Enemy, than in revenging their Uncles death.

The Cardinals themselves, who for their own Interest are not much concerned in the Popes preservation, do not trouble themselves to enquire by what means he came to his end; 'tis enough for them that the Popedom is vacant, and that they have the Authority of chusing a Successor, who must be one of themselves.

The Popes Lives are a perpetual War; for without they are set upon by the Cares and Troubles of their Employment, and within by the fear of death, which is so great in them, that they are afraid of the very Air they breath in.

Since the Fifth went one day to the Convent of the Apostles, which was assigned to the Fryars of the Order he had been of: and coming in of a sudden without giving any warning, met in their Refectory with a Brother who was eating a Mess of Beans very hungrily. The good Pope remembring his ancient condition, sat down by him upon a wooden Form, and fell to eating with as great an appetite as the Brother, and made him fill the dish up again when they had emptied it.

The Popes Followers wondred, and were much surprized at his Fancy, or rather extravagant Appetite; but he taking no notice of them, continued to eat on with his wooden Spoon, the Beans that were very well oyled. At last having emptied the Dish a second time, and thanked the Brother for his kindness, he turned to his Followers and said,
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This Dish of Beans will make me live two years longer than I should have done, for I have eaten them with pleasure, and without fear. Then lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven, he blessed God that had given a Pope once in his life an occasion of eating a meals meat in quiet.

Pius the Fifth, who was very lean, was used to say, *That it was impossible that the Popes should ever grow fat, for that Nature in them was never supplied but in fear.* And yet this Pope was one of the holiest and best; though it is true, That Holiness is subject to Envy, and therefore obliged to preserve it self against the malignity of its Enemies.

And indeed the diligence which the Popes use in preserving themselves, is such, that it cannot chuse but communicate to them a continual apprehension of some imminent danger: for they do not only watch what they eat, but they never eat any thing which has not been first tasted by those that dress it, and serve it up: chusing ordinarily upon a sudden, and not bespeaking that which they like.

Paul the Fourth was wont to give the greatest part of his Dinner to those that stood by, and make them eat it in his presence; and then often he would take some of that which they had left: So that the whole Court was in perpetual fear, seeing the Pope so timorous.

But fear is not only inseparable from them at Table, but at the Altar too; where they never eat the consecrated Host, before they have given a part of it to the Sacristan there present, whose care it is to provide them, and to eat that part which he receives from the Pope; who having divided it into two parts, gives him sometimes the right side, sometimes the left, as he pleases.

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The same precaution is used in the taking of the Cup or Chalice, which the Pope never takes, till the Sacristan has drunk some first before him. So that it is evident, That the *Popes* do use many more precautions than any other Prince.

Now if it be thus with them, can they do better than to call about them their proper Kindred, into whose hands they may commit their Persons? Who will take a greater care of their preservation, than they who hope for Riches and Honour to their Family? And who will take the pains to contribute to the lasting of any Empire, but he that has the greatest share in the enjoyments of it?

Those *Popes* who at first seem'd, aver'd from their Relations, having in a small time come to know the difficulty of their own preservation in the hands of Strangers, have immediately called them to Rome, and thrown themselves into their Arms, as a place of Refuge, against so many who had an interest to destroy them; and by all sorts of Favours, sought to make it their Kindreds Interest to love and take care of them.

It may be, that *Urban* the eighth, who lived 23 Years *Pope*, had not attained to half that Age, if the *Barberins* had not used all imaginable means to prolong his life; which else would have been plotted against by both Princes and private persons. But nobody durst undertake that which seem'd impossible. And without doubt, the care they took of him, did exceed the desire he had of living; for old age was become a burden to him at last.

Innocent the Tenth, after the design of getting the Kingdom of Naples from the Spaniard was discovered, stood in perpetual fear, lest, to be revenged, they

they should plot his death; which it may be they had done, if *Donna Olympia* had not taken the care to dress his Meat, and feed him with her own hands: and in acknowledgement of her kindness, he would often say to her, *Sister, do you take care of me, and I'll take care that the Popedom shall be yours.*

First the Third, of the Family of *Piccolomini* of *Siena*, had not dyed by poyson, procured him by *Pandolfo Petrucci* Tyrant of the said place, if he had had some of his Relations near him; whereupon he was forced to trust his life in Strangers hands, and lose it miserably, before he could see any of his Kindred about him.

But here some body will say, *That indeed it would not be amiss that the Pope should resign the care of his Person to his Kindred, but not give them an unlimited Power over Church and State; That is if they do not want necessities, but that he should not go about to content their insatiability.* To this we will answer in time and place; it is enough for the present to have proved, That they are the most necessary Instruments of the Popes preservation. And because the obligation of him that receives his life from another is infinite, therefore the Popes do think, that they cannot repay but by infinite Gifts and Favours. Now we will pass to the third Reason, which is, the Reason of State.

The State or Politick Government of the Church, is the most unfortunate and miserable in the World; for it is neither Commonwealth nor Monarchy; and as an ingenuous Prelate said, *It is neither from God nor the Devil.* And the causes of its Misery are divers, but particularly one is, Because the supreme Governour always dying without Heirs, there is no body

body left to take pity of the grievances which are continually introduc'd by the Governours of Provinces who rule as they please.

Many compare all the Ecclesiastick State to a Town taken by an Enemy, who being out of hopes to keep it any time falls to plundering and destroying it, carrying away all that's good, and leaving to the poor Citizens nothing but the liberty of venting their complaints: Just so do the Church-men who are in authority in one *Pope's* life, for foreseeing that their power is like to expire with him, and be resign'd up to his Successor, they make Hay while the Sun shines, and use all manner of Extortions and Violences in their respective places for fear else of departing with their hands empty. And the people are so far from obtaining redress from those that succeed them, that they had rather be under the Government of their old Masters; for the new ones come with intention to do as much, if not worse, than the others.

In the time of *Francesco Maria della Rovere*, last Duke of *Urbino*, his Creatures seeing him past hopes of having any Heirs; and that after his death the Estate was like to fall to the Church, as being a Feise of it, they applyed themselves to make their advantage by all means; that is, they plunder'd and ruin'd it, that they might leave it bare to the Church-men their Successors. Particularly, when they saw the Duke languishing in a decrepit Age, they then bestir'd themselves, and flew about like so many Bees to suck the rest of the Honey: But he hapning to live longer than they expected they were at a loss, and had drained all the State so dry, that they themselves were fain to sit and look upon the desolate condition
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of that Dukedom without being able to make it work.

It came thus lean and impoverished into the Church-mens hands, who, for all they have such good Stomachs, were fain to forbear eating for the first seven years, till it had gathered a little flesh again; and then they fell to devouring of it afresh, and have since continued to do so: no sooner perceiving it to be a little recruited, but they extenuate it with Taxes, Impositions, and extortions.

That which hapned once to the Dutchy of Urbin, happens often to the whole State of the Church; for as soon as the Governours, and other subordinate Officers, see the Pope drawing to his end, and by consequence that their time of getting is also ready to expire, every new Pope advancing new Creatures, there is no sort of Violence, Theft, Robbery, or Extortion; that they do not commit in their respective charges: which they no sooner resign to new Officers, but that they who come in poor, and must maintain the Decorum of their places, invent some new way of vexing the poor people, and enriching themselves, giving afterwards a little respite to the people to breathe in, and by that time the Pope is a dying, and then they fall on a fresh.

So that it appears that the Popedom's being elective, and not Hereditary, causes all these misfortunes to the State and people; for this makes every body think of the present, and none of the future, there being no future amongst Church-men.

But if this inconveniency be great, it would without doubt prove much more intolerable, if the Popes had no Kindred to help them in the Government of the State and Church; For though it seem that a Ni-

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potismo is directly bent upon its own profit and advantage: yet for divers reasons and respects they do preserve many places from ruine, and many Subjects from opprellion. Whereas if the Pope were without them, he would be forced to trust to a great number of Governours, who would every one be as greedy, and as absolute as a Nephew; and Lord it as high with the title of *Dominus Dominantium*.

The Nephews, who are few in number, take upon them to be both Shepherds, and Shearers; Treasurers, and Extorters: so that they suffer no body to grow rich but for them, nor to rise but by their means and to their profit, nor to take from others except it be to present them. For woe be to those Ministers of State, or subordinate Officers, that dare contradict a Nephew's Will; or do any thing without their Order.

Now this being so, it is evident that it is more easie to satisfie one mans avidity than a hundreds. If the Nephews were not, every Prelate, every Bishop, every Abbot, every Cardinal, would treat the Church as the Jews did our Saviour's Garments; that is, divide it amongst them: and it may be would leave nothing for their Successors; for their Maxims are indeed to live well themselves, but not to provide that others may do so too.

The *Nipotismo* looks upon the Popedom as their own, and so they have some consideration for a thing in which they pretend a propriety. When once their Purse is full they let it breath, and recover its forces. 'Tis true that that seldom falls out, for we have seen the *Barbarians* enjoy the state of the Church for three and twenty years; and yet shew as much evidity when they were upon the point to leave it, as when they first entred upon it.

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Besides this, if *Rome* were without a *Nepotismo*, the Government of the City would be every day in new hands; every Church-man's ambition being to climb up to the top of the Wheel, and supplant him that stands next to the Sovereign Power. So that the Church would be in one Pontificate, tossed like a Ball from one to the other; and that most commonly by very unskilful persons: the mystery of Church-Government being a thing not to be mastered but by those who stay long in it, and acquire great experience in the management of affairs.

Moreover, if the State were governed by different persons under the Reign of one Pope, it would be a very hard matter to find out the Author of the people's miseries, every one having his Predecessors actions for an excuse; so that men would also lose that poor consolation of being able to show their Tormenters. But it is not so when a *Nepotismo* governs, for then as they have the Honour, and Riches; so must they endure the Reproaches, and Complaints made against their Government, which the *Romans* do without mercy, making the Air sound and repeat their murmurs with a thousand Echoes.

These reasons do sometimes prevail upon the Popes Kindred to make them abstain from doing all the mischief they would do; or at least they suffer not others to commit crimes and faults which they know will be laid to their charge: and of the imputation of which they shall be sure to be heirs as well as of their Uncles riches.

And indeed, how would it be possible for the State of the Church, which is a Monarchy, to be governed well, if it were governed as a Republick; For in Commonwealths the Governours are the Ci-

tizens

citizens and Natives themselves, who being sure that the State they govern, is their own, do administer with Justice and Equity; first, as reaping a benefit by their moderation; And secondly, as being sure to expect a punishment when they are out of their charges: But the Pope having the disposing of all places and charges, does often advance Strangers; who have no design but of making their own Fortune, and who, when once removed from their dignities, may either leave the State, or else procure impunity by a part of those riches which they have extorted from the poor people. It is much better therefore that there should be a *Nipotismo*, into whose hands the Pope may trust their Government and Person; and who by the purchase which they make of great Estates do, as it were, settle themselves within the State: and may fear the being called to an account for their violences, if they exceed measure.

There are three other reasons which seem to conclude very strongly in favour of a *Nipotismo*, which are these:

That the Pope may more easily discover the interests of Forreign Princes; That he may be able to govern with more care and affection; And that he may be able to carry on the Negotiations of his Court with more secrecy.

And indeed, it would not only be difficult, but almost impossible for the Pope to dive into the hidden interests and designs of Forreign Princes without a *Nipotismo*; For how could he trust Strangers with his secrets, if he could not be assured that they would reciprocally reveal to him all theirs. The Ministers of State would be easily corrupted to betray the Pope their Master, and incline much more to oblige

Princes, upon whom, because of their hereditary and settled condition, they might rely, than to be faithful to one who might fail every moment; and with him all their hopes and expectations.

Besides, the Princes themselves would hardly condescend to reveal their secrets, and treat of important matters in the Court of *Rome*, when they should know and see that they must confide in strangers, whom another Prince might bribe and corrupt to their disadvantage; For just so far do Sovereigns trust the *Pope* as they see about him people, in whom he may trust himself.

Urban the eighth deserves no small praises for his Policy, all along his Reign: but particularly, for his method and way of treating with the Sovereigns of *Europe*; whose secrets were all revealed to him, whereas none of his were revealed to them again. For the same means, which he used to discover others designs, help'd him to conceal his own.

For having created his two Nephews Cardinals, and gave them instructions worthy such a politick head as his was, he made one of them declare for *Spain*, and the other for *France*; each of them making demonstration of an extraordinary kindness for the Crown they protected. Which thing proved most fortunate to the *Pope*, and successful in the design he had, to be Master of the secrets of both Kings.

Now that this was a design of the Uncle, and no particular inclination of the Nephews, appears easily; because that Cardinal *Antonio*, who sided with the *French*, had never had any communication with this Nation before his being made Cardinal: neither had he received from them any kindness that could endear him to their Party: Nay, indeed he had rather

rather reason to encline to the *Spaniards*, from whom he had received many courtesies worth acknowledging; but he followed in this his Uncle's suggestions.

The Cardinal *Francesco* on the other side who had never any great inclination for *Spain*, and who in the services he did do them, did not appear with that violence that Cardinal *Antonio* did; for the *French* would nevertheless in obedience to his Uncle often declare for them; and in some occasions show a great deal of affection and desire to oblige a Crown, which did seek after his protection.

Urban having thus assigned the care of the interest of these two potent Princes to his Nephews; could not chuse but be perfectly informed of their designs, and secret intrigues of their Courts; whose Ministers and Ambassadors in order to a further discovery of the *Pope's* inclinations, were forced to communicate before hand a great part of their secrets to the Cardinal, Protector of their Kingdom, in hopes by his means of diving further into that which was yet hidden to them: but most commonly they got little light and intelligence by it, for the Nephews following exactly their Uncle's Instructions, did endeavour to pump every body else, and keep themselves close. Their Uncle in the mean time well informed on both hands, was sure to take just measures; and by an even carriage so to entertain the affections of both Kings, as to make them both his Friends: and really one who could govern a Popedom so well, and easily, betwixt so opposed and different Interests, did deserve to govern as long as *Urban* did.

Innocentius might have been named for one of the greatest Politicians in the world; if his Sister-in-law had not led him astray; or rather if he had not been guilty of an unparallel'd inconstancy in changing so often his *Nipotismo*.

For they that were disgraced did immediately reveal to Princes all the secrets of his Court, and they who came in their room could never penetrate into the hidden designs of Foreign Courts; for the Princes of those Kingdoms and States durst not trust them with any thing, as being alwayes afraid; lest they should be turned off as the first.

And in effect, as soon as the news of the adoption of Cardinal *Astalli* was spread abroad, there were many that laid great wagers, that he would not conserve himself in his post long; and the grounds they went upon, was the unconstant humour of the *Pope*, which no body could trust to.

Cardinal *Mazarine* himself being weary of so many extravagant changes in the *Nipotismo* of *Innocentius*, and seeing *Astalli* fallen out of his favour, and the *Barberins* in his place, said to one of his Confidants, in the presence of a French Protestant, these words; *I have never relyed much upon the Cardinal Astalli; and I shall now scarce rely upon the Pope himself.* Many Princes both of Italy and Germany were of Cardinal *Mazarine's* mind in this, and became very cautious in all their Negotiations; avoiding all occasions of treating with his Holiness, as knowing that nothing could be well managed in such divisions, and changes.

Thus we see, that not only the *Popes* must have near them those that have the title of Nephews; but they must be really such, as by consanguinity may

may be obliged to the same interest with the Pope, if he means that others should trust them. This is the only way to make the Popes appear Sovereigns, as really they desire to be; and any other way they will seem rather to be the Heads of a Commonwealth than absolute Princes.

It is fit therefore, that they should be allowed a *Nepotismo* for their own and others safety; but it is not just that they should so indulge this *Nepotismo*, as to set it above themselves, and become its slaves. Let them treat with Princes, but let them not become so themselves, and usurp the Pope's Authority, so far as to use it without his knowledge; and often contrary to the Interests of the Church and State.

Let them not do as Gregory the 15th. who had given to the Cardinal Ludovico his Nephew, so great an Authority of doing, and saying what he pleased, without so much as consulting his Uncle, that he was really become Pope, and the Pope as if he had been the Nephew; and if ever he come and give him part of any secret negotiation, it was because the thing was so intricate, that he either could not, or durst not undertake to come to execution, without being first fortified with his Uncle's advice and approbation.

But the best was, that the Pope himself did not dare to ask him any questions about business, or inform himself otherwise; but sometimes would be whole weeks together without so much as seeing the face of an Ambassadour, or publick Minister: his Nephew in the mean time giving Audience, and concluding all business with them.

And the Pope was so customed to this usage, that

it never came into his mind to be offended at it; but would very contentedly make amends for those faults which his Nephew did often commit in his administration: and whensoever he did see his Nephew come into his presence, he would say, *Nephew, I am sure 'tis some very hard and intricate business that brings you hither, for else we should scarce be repaired to for counsel.* And he had a great deal of reason to say so, for his Nephew did never communicate to him any negotiation, except he he had first spoiled it, and brought himself to a *non-plus*; and then the Pope would oblige the Congregations of the Cardinals to take the business into their care, and set right again that which had been spoiled by his inability.

The second reason for the *Nepotismo* is, that the *Popes* may be able to govern with more care and affection. There is nothing that forces more a Prince to answer the ends of Government, and to oblige his people, than when he considers that the Government is to descend to his Heirs; for a Prince without a Successor does often dissipate and spoil that which he would preserve, if he had any body to leave it to.

The State of *Venice*, which never established any Law without having first deliberated upon it, and sifted it in their Council of *Pregadi*, does think fit to oblige the kindred of the dead Duke to answer for their Kinsman's misdemeanours and miscarriages; fining them in great sums of money for a reparation of his faults: so that often they are fain to endure for the dead Duke those punishments, which his Dignity when he was alive, and his death, have preserved him from.

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The effect of this is, that the Dukes of *Venice* do comport themselves with all moderation and equity, following exactly those Rules of Government which they receive from the State; And the fear they are in of leaving their Relations engaged in a painful satisfaction for their faults, does oblige them to study night and day how they may serve the publick: in doing which, they do at the same time oblige their Countrey, themselves; and their Kindred; whereas else they might be subject to follow their own private interests, to the prejudice and detriment of all the Commonwealth.

The *Popes* have almost the same fear upon them; and by consequent the like obligation; for the only consideration of leaving their Relations engaged with too powerful Enemies, has often made them desist from Enterprizes, which would have proved fatal to their State, and all Christendom.

Urban the 8th. did often protest, that if it had not been out of a kindness to his Nephews, he would either have hazarded the Popedom, or have brought Princes to his will.

The *Popes* know very well by experience, that there is no way to preserve their *Nepotismo* from the persecution which ordinarily they are to expect from their Successors; whensoever their Successors are such as come with pre-occupation against them, and find in the Government of the Church and State so many abuses, which do quicken their indignation against the precedent *Nepotismo*.

This is a very great tie upon them in their administration, which appears if once they come to cast it off.

Paul the 4th. who had much of a barbarous and inhu-

inhumane humour in him, more becoming a Souldier than a Pope; as soon as he had banished his Nephew from Rome, did do things with a great deal more resolution and insolence than before: insomuch that it seemed, as if he had a mind to reduce all the world under his Laws, and force Christendom to follow the dictates of his *Capriccio*.

The Ministers of Princes who had to do with him, did extremely complain of this his proceeding; for he did no less than threaten them all upon every occasion: and one day particularly as the *Spanish* Ambassadour was complaining to him of some occasion of disgust which his Holiness had given the Crown of *Spain*, he answered him in a tume, *That he had none no Nephews to care for; and that suppos'd, That his actions did deserve to be blamed, he little cared: for with his death all resentments would vanish*: meaning he was no longer concerned for his Relations, for whose sake he had all this while contained himself within the limits of the Papal Dignity.

Some say that *Julius* the second did bear a great affection to his Kindred, but did forbear any demonstrations of kindness to them out of a more solid Principle of Love; which was, That they might not receive any reproaches or injuries after his death, for those fautes which he might have committed in his life time; for having resolved to do nothing but make War, and lead a Souldiers life, as indeed he did, he would infallibly have drawn the revenge of all his Enemies upon his Kindred, to whom therefore he showed himself averse.

And indeed it was wisely done of him, and kindly;

ly; for it was impossible but so warlike a humour as his was, must needs offend many Princes, who all would have been revenged upon his *Nepotism*, as Authors, and Partakers of their Uncle's Designs.

If *Urban* had done the same thing, the persecution of the *Barberins* had not been at all, or at least had not been so violent; but the great Authority with which they appeared under him, did make Princes believe that all the *Pope's* actions were of their plotting and managing.

So, when the Duke of *Parma*, and the Princes his allies made War against the Church, they declared to all the world that they had no design to offend the *Pope*; but only to be revenged of the *Barberins*, whose ambition they accused as the Motive of the War.

Quite contrary, All the errors and miscarriages of *Innocent* the 10th. were never imputed to his Nephew the Prince *Pamphilio*; for every body knew well, that he had no share in the administration of the Government, and yet he is in possession of all those riches and vast summes of money which *Donna Olympia* his Mother had got together: and no doubt if she were now alive, she would certainly be in very great danger, if it were only because of that opinion which princes had conceived of the Authority with which she rul'd, and was thought to have a hand in all the transactions of her Brother's Pontificate.

And on the other side, that tender affection which the *Pope* did bear to his Sister-in-law, was very useful towards the abating something of the violence of the *Pope's* temper, diverting him from
all

all thoughts of War, and keeping him from entering into Leagues and Confederacies with Princes, with whom he desired to live in peace.

When the revolution of *Naples* happened, which was the greatest occasion that ever any *Pope* had to possess himself of that Kingdom, he was so far from attempting it, that he would never so much as say a word, or enter into deliberation about it; not that he wanted courage or desire: but only because he would not leave *Donna Olympia*, and his Kindred, involved in an irreconcilable War with *Spain*, and in danger of ruining themselves for ever.

Our *Alexander* has alwayes used the same precautions, for when *Don Agostino* in the height of his insolence and pride disoblged so openly the Family of *Colonna*, by making his Uncle the Cavalier *De la Ciaia* take up that place in the Theatre, which the High Constable *Colonna* had hired for himself:

The *Pope* was infinitely offended at so rash an action, not out of any consideration for the merit of the Family of the *Colonna*; but because he knew that such an accident could not chuse but be followed by an open enmity betwixt the two Families of *Chiggi* and *Colonna*: therefore without any delay the *Pope* gave order, that all the means of reconciliation should be sought out. And finding that *Don Agostino* stood too much upon his terms, and would not be brought to make any satisfaction to the Constable, the *Pope* grew passionate; and sending for him, forced him to a present compliance, using some reproaches: and amongst others, these words, *You commit extravagant follies, and I*
must

must be put to the trouble of making amends for them, to free you from the danger of their consequences. And a little after, you do nothing but procure mischief to your self and me, while I make it my business to do you good.

I will not any say thing of the business of the Duke of Crequy, for it is most certain, that without the consideration of his Kindred, the Pope had never condescended to an agreement so advantageous to France.

Witness the Pope's own expressions to those Ambassadors and Cardinals, who for the quiet of Italy did endeavour to take up the Business. The Venetian Ambassador above all did concern himself very much in the business, following the Orders of his Senate; which does wisely fore-see and endeavour to take away all causes of a War in Italy: and as he was pressing the Pope upon the business, his Holiness answered him, *That it was a great affliction to him that he had introduced his Kindred into Rome; for else he would either have broke himself, or have made France bend.*

But the Ambassador who was very ready in all occasions, but particularly prepared upon this, answered him, *If your Holiness had never brought your Kindred into Rome, this accident had not happened.*

To which the Pope replied suddenly, *Well then, we must make all well again, to the Churches prejudices, and our Kindreds advantage.*

The like discourse he had with Monsignor Rasponi (who now is Cardinal) and was then created Plenipotentiary for the Treaty of Pisa, after he had in vain been sent to Lyons, to make an agreement; for

for there the business was crossed with a thousand difficulties, amongst which the precedency was one.

The Pope was brought into such a Labyrinth, that he did almost lose his wits in seeking how to come out of it; for on one side the affection of his Family did continually sollicit him to yield to the great pretensions of the French King; on the other, the Decorum and honour of his Pontificate, which would be blurr'd with the infamy of having given away so much of the Dignity and Profits of the Church, did make him resolve to be constant, and bate nothing of that respect and Majesty which the Popes do use to expect from Princes: and the rather, because he had alwayes shewed himself a singular defender of the Pontifical Dignity, and could not endure to be forced to submit to a Crown, for which he had never had any great inclination.

For all this, at last, the interest of his Kindred carried it before those of the Church; and after he had worn out all the slights and arts that the Court of Rome could furnish him withall, he was forced at last to come to an agreement, as infamous for the See of Rome, as it was honourable for France.

Whereupon some of the most zealous Cardinals having vented their complaints in the Consistory it self, blaming Monsignor Rasponi for signing the Treaty, He was obliged to excuse himself to every one of them in a particular Visit, by saying, That he had an express Order from his Holiness for what he had done; who had declared his resolution of yielding to any conditions, rather than of leaving his Family engaged against so powerful an Enemy as France. To which purpose he related to some of his particular

ticular friends; the very words which the Pope spoke to him when he went to take his leave of him to go to Pisa, to treat with the Duke of Gregory, which were these; *Be discreet and yield up something of the Popedom, to save our Family; and not leave them and the Church in an obligation of maintaining a dangerous War in Italy.*

Thus it appears, that it is not so much that universal care of a Father, that makes the Popes maintain a good correspondence with Christian Princes; as the fear of leaving Enemies to their Families; and bringing ruine upon their Relations.

We all know that every Pope either out of envy or some other motive is well pleased to lessen, if not utterly to destroy the Family of his Predecessor; and of this we have had many experiences since two ages. Therefore also the Popes, to prevent this misfortune, do ordinarily endeavour to get, while they are alive, the protection of some eminent Christian Prince, for their Family; under whose wings they may shelter themselves in a time of calamity.

And if this be, we may conclude, that all the affection, the care, and the desire which the Popes have of advancing their Kindred, does at last turn to a general benefit and profit for Christendom; and if you except one inconvenience, which is, that they impoverish the Church, and carry away all its treasure, it were and is better for all other considerations, that the Popes do govern conjointly with their *Nipotismo*; than without it: which is proved by a third reason; which is, that without a *Nipotismo* the Negotiations and business of the Court could never be carried with secrecy enough.

I am

I am in doubt whether it be harder to keep a thing secret in the Court of a Prince, than in the Council of a Commonwealth; for in the Commonwealth the great number of Counsellors make the keeping of a secret a very difficult thing: and in the Court of Princes, the envy of those Courtiers, who are excluded from the management of Affairs, is so sharp-sighted, and does so pry and penetrate into the most hidden Mysteries of the Court, to the end they may either hurt the Prince through his Counsellors, or the Counsellors through the Prince, that it is almost impossible to keep any thing hidden from them.

I am of opinion, that for one reason the Secrets of a Commonwealth are better concealed, which is; because that those that are conscious to them, are themselves the Princes and Masters of the State: but in a Monarchy, the Prince being forced to trust some of his Subjects, it is much more dangerous for him and for his business; for he becomes slave and dependent of those who should be his. Divers Histories will furnish us with examples to prove what we say; and if that be true, and that yet nevertheless it is very hard to keep counsel in a Commonwealth, it is easily inferr'd, how difficult a thing it is to do it in a Monarchy.

But what shall we say then of the state of the Church, of which no body can tell whether it be Commonwealth, or Monarchy, the *Popes* appearing sometimes absolute like Princes, and other while dependant like Dukes of Commonwealths: and without doubt the *Popes* could never be able to conceal so many private and publick interests without that trust and relyance, which they have in their

their *Nipotismo* : and this particularly for two reasons. The first is thus,

The Court of *Rome* taken in all its latitude, is without doubt the greatest of *Europe*, and the most magnificent of Christendom; for it yields to no other in the great number of Ambassadors, and publick Ministers which reside in it.

For the *Pope*, that they may the better conserve the title of Universal Father, which they affect, do by all means procure to have as many Ambassadors of Christian Princes near them as they can. But that very thing by which this Court seems to be most honoured, does also carry with it an evident danger; for these Ambassadors and Residents being unwilling to stay in *Rome*, without procuring some considerable advantage to the Princes that send them, are perpetually watching for occasions to discover the *Popes* most secret designs : so that they are in effect so many spies, who the more they are in number, the more do they encrease the difficulty of preserving and concealing the Secrets of the Court.

Before I speak of the second Reason, which makes the Court of *Rome* so suspicious a place for Secrets, I must say something about the Cardinals, and their Office, and Employment.

The Cardinals are the *Pope's* Counsellors, who by the Dignity of their place, and the Majesty of their Habit, do much augment the pomp and splendor of the Court. The *Popes* do every day give them new Priviledges and Prerogatives, by the means of which they are respected like so many Kings.

This makes Forreign Princes endeavour to get their

their friendship by all means, giving them both secret and publick allowances and Pensions, in consideration of these Prerogatives; and of the power which they have to chuse the *Pope*; who must necessarily be one of their number.

But if Princes shew a promptitude and readiness to win the Cardinals affections, they are themselves reciprocally courted by the Cardinals for divers reasons; As first, for the Emolument of their Pensions; Next, that they may not obstruct their way to the Popedom by an open Exclusion in the Conclave; And last of all, that they may live in greater reputation and esteem in *Rome*, Where those Cardinals are most valued that entertain an exact correspondence with Princes: particularly if it be with any of the two Crowns of *Europe*, that is, *France*, or *Spain*; upon whose Brigues and Interests does ordinarily depend the election of the *Pope*.

Now it is to be believed, that these Princes do not prodigally spend their Treasure without receiving a continual Interest for it; which Interest is an exact information of all that is done, treated, and managed in the Court of *Rome*: And of this the Cardinals acquit themselves with great industry and diligence.

So we see, how intricate and troublesome the Government of *Rome* would become to the *Popes*; if they had not Confidants, that is, Nephews, on whom they might rely; and to whom they might trust their secrets without fear.

For indeed, a *Pope* without Kindred must renounce Monarchy, and resolve to be only as the Head of a Commonwealth; which would be just to give himself up into the hands of the Cardinals, and be at their discretion: which if it were, every body may easily

easily infer how dangerous it would prove to the *Pope's* Authority, and how unbecoming the greatness and *decorum* of his place and dignity. Besides that, probably things would fall into confusion and disorder, while every Cardinal would be more intent to satisfy his own ends; and, as they say, draw the water to his Mill, than to mind the necessities of the State and Church.

If the *Pope* could do nothing without the counsel and assent of the Cardinals, How would he be able to treat any Leagues, make Wars or Peace? Which are things so incident to the nature of a great State, such as the *Pope's* is, that it can seldom be without them. There would be framed a thousand difficulties in the very beginnings of Negotiations; and the Enemy would know all before you had resolved any thing. Every Cardinal would support his Prince and Country, and at last they would all be so embarrassed and confounded, that they would either be in danger of losing themselves for the Church, or of exposing the Church to mischief to save themselves.

How would it be fit, that the *Pope* should advise with the Senate of Cardinals, if they themselves are his and the Churches greatest enemies, If they have not only promised, but sworn fidelity to the Party of those Princes that give them Pensions and Revenues? How then can they follow the *Pope's* directions, or consent to his designs? Certainly they must either cheat the Prince, that they may be true to the Church; or be false to the Church, that they may not be ungrateful to those Princes, whose money they have taken.

There are some Cardinals that would not care, if all

were lost, so they did but save their Family, which is under the protection of some Prince; and avoid themselves the reproach of ingratitude from their Benefactors.

The greatest part of the Cardinals are either, of the *French* or *Spanish* Faction, and each of them makes it his greatest glory to defend the Pretensions of the Crown he protects, whether just or unjust; so that often between them they neglect and ruine the Interest of the Church and *Pope*. How were it possible then for the *Pope* either to preserve himself or the Church in its Prerogatives, if he would take and follow the counsel of those whose interest makes them the Enemies to both; though they pretend, that what they do is only out of a tender consideration of the publick good.

To this purpose I remember that a certain *Italian* Cardinal, being weary of holding for many years on the *Spaniards* side, gave himself to the *French* by the mediation of a better Pension which they promised him. And indeed the Cardinals, whatsoever they pretend, have no other inclination to either party than what their Interest leads them to; For he that gives the highest Pensions, and the best Benefices, is sure to have them.

This Cardinal, having thus renounced the *Spaniard*, did go about to take away the imputation of inconstancy and self-interest; and would say in all companies, *That he had no other end in doing so, but a desire to be able to serve the Church and Pope the better.*

But another Cardinal, of great experience and prudence, hearing him one day discourse, after this rate, could not forbear saying these words to him, *I wish to*
God

God that your Eminence, that have never been able to do the Church any service while you were a true Spaniard, may do her some now you are a counterfeit Frenchman. And this he said in the presence of divers Cardinals and Embassadors.

Let us then conclude, that the State and Church can never be well goverred, as to the point in hand, if the Popes be without Nephews to rely on, and in whose secrecy they may confide.

Innocentius the tenth was so convinced of this truth, that finding himself deprived of those helps which he could not receive from his lawful Kindred by reason of their inabilities; and withall seeing that he was exposed to the unsatiable avarice of a woman, his Sister-in-Law, he was fain to take the young *Astalli* and declare him Cardinal Nephew, and *Padrone*, giving him the name of *Pamphilio*; and in a word, made him in Rome, as *Pharaoh* was in *Agypt*, the Governour of all things.

But what hapned? This young Cardinal not being able to comply with the Popes humours, and having no tye of Consanguinity upon him, was rather a Traitor to him than a Nephew; for he did reveal to the *Spaniards*, from whom he did secretly receive good Pension, all that passed through his hands, or that could come to his knowledge: caring not how he hazarded and engaged the Pope's Honour and Reputation.

Particularly, at that time that the Pope and the *Barbarins* together, did consult how they should fall upon the Kingdom of Naples and divide it among themselves, *Astalli* all the day long did set spies, and endeavour himself to discover their Counsels; and then secretly in the night did give the *Spaniards* notice of

all; who, being thus well instructed, did easily prevent their Enemies designs, by taking away all those means which the pretendants relied upon for the execution of their Enterprize.

Upon this the *Pope* enraged against *Astalli*, banished him from *Rome*, took away from him all that he had so liberally given him, except the quality of Cardinal; of which he could not be deprived but for great crimes, and that by a fair trial too.

Now if the *Pope Innocent* could not trust one whom he had raised from nothing; and if the secrets of his Court were revealed and published by a Cardinal so much obliged to him; How can other *Popes* trust Cardinals that are as it were their enemies by being too much other Princes friends?

These are the Reasons that force the *Popes* to call their Kindred about them; and shew them all demonstrations of kindness; and I think they are such as prove that the *Popes* cannot govern according to the rules of good Policy, if their Kindred be not with them, and have not a share in their fortune.

And if it be so, Why do we murmur so much against the *Popes* for spending the Treasure of the Church in maintaining the greatness of their Nephews? since it is certain that their Pomp and State is the Churches. And to what shall its Treasure be useful, except it serve to make the Majesty of the Popedom appear to the eyes of the world? For there is no doubt, that if the *Pope's* Spiritual Authority were not held up and maintained by his Temporal power, it would soon be ruined and despised. For now adays the reputation of riches and strength is that, which breeds respect for the Popedom; as in the primitive

Primitive Ages of the Church it was upheld by holiness of life, and good example.

Poor Church-men are indeed respected still by some devout Women, and the Vulgar: But they are despised in the Courts of Princes; where the Rich are welcome, and honourably received. A poor Church-man must wear a Hair-cloth, Fast, do penitence, and work Miracles to be known and respected: But a rich one, without more ado, shall immediately be saluted and welcomed even where he is unknown.

Why are the Jesuites so in vogue in the World, and desired in Courts, as if Princes could not be without them. The vulgar adore them, Noblemen respect them, and Magistrates grant them protection and priviledges. Is it that they serve the Church better than other Church men? No certainly: For the Orders of Saint *Francis* and Saint *Dominick* have spent more blood in the profession of the Christian Faith in a Day, than the Jesuites in an Age; neither do they live a more exemplary or a stricter life than others. How comes it to pass then, that they are so powerful? I will tell you; Money is the Key which opens all doors to these good Fathers, by which they purchase Credit, Power, and Authority, even amongst Church-men and in the Court of *Rome*.

The *Popes* by this, seeing how important a thing Riches are in the hands of Church-men, do very wisely strive to furnish their *Nipotismo* with them; that as they are to treat and manage the greatest affairs of Christendom: so they may do it with the Pomp and State, that so Eminent an Employment does require.

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Il Nipotismo di Roma :
 OR, THE
HISTORY
 OF
 The Pope's N E P H E W S.

The Second Part.

The SECOND BOOK.

The Contents.

IN which is discoursed, of all the good and ill that the Pope's Nephews have done to the Church ever since Sixtus the Fourth. Of the Church of Christ, compared to a Field. Of those that first bestowed Riches upon the Church. Of the insatiability of the Nipotismo in general. Of the Princes that murmur against the mischiefs caused by the Pope's Nephews in Christendom. Of the honour that Princes receive in bestowing Revenues upon the Church. How the Scandal was first introduced in the Church. Of the Complaints made against the Popes. Of the Primum movens that gives Motion to the Sphere of the Nipotismo. Of a Comparison betwixt the Gospel and the Church-men. Of a Dispute between

a Papist Preacher, and a Protestant. Of the Spirit of the Nipotismo, inclined to gather Riches. Of the impossibility of serving God and the World. Of the Excommunication of the Lucheses by Urban the Eighth. Why men are so easily corrupted. Of an Accident that befel St. Francis of Assisa. Of another that befel St. Francis of Paola. Of a false Opinion, maintained by some Divines. Of a Discourse held by Ferdinand, Great Duke of Tuscany, to a Pilgrim that was going to Rome. Of the great number of Decrees that have been made to reform the Church-men. Of the People that complain of the Nipotismo. How all Christendom is scandalized by it. How the Monks exclaim against it, because it starves them. How often Princes withdraw from Rome discontented. Of the Popes, that cannot reform the Abuses of the Church, except they begin with their Nephews. Of Alexander the Seventh, and his austere Life. How the good Example he gave in the beginning of his Pontificate, was of great profit to the Church. Of some Protestants that went to Rome on purpose, upon the noise of his exemplary Life. How he left off bating, and fell to loving his Kindred. Of Don Mario, the Head of this Nipotismo. Of the Disorder that was in Rome, about the Accident that befel the Duke of Crequy. Of the damage done to the Church by it. Of Don Agostino, and his high Carriage. Of the Cardinal padrone his inclination to sensual Pleasure. Of the Taxes and Oppression of the Pope's Subjects. Of a particular Opinion about the People's Vices. Of the pitiful condition of the Church in Innocentius the Tenth's time. Of the Renunciation of the Cardinals Cap, made by the Prince

Prince Pamphilio. How Donna Olympia did carry her self towards the Nipotismo. Of the Princes Ludovisio and Giustiniani. Of the Nipotismo of Urban the Eighth. Of the Praises given to this Nipotismo, by those who have writ the Life of Urban. Of the Policy of the Nephews of the Popes. Of the most remarkable Passages of the Life of Urban. How the Writers did dissemble all the ill done by him. Of the Barberins Proceedings towards the Emperour and King of Poland. Of the scandal which the Protestants themselves did receive from their Dealings. Of the Designs of Gregory the Fifteenth, to destroy the Protestants. How Cardinal Ludovisio his Nephew was of another Opinion. Of the pains that Gregory took to get into his hands Marc, Anthony de Dominis, who was fled to London. How the Prince Elector's Library was given to the Pope. Of the Zeal of Paul the Fifth towards the defence of the Ecclesiastick Jurisdiction. Of the hatred he bore to the State of Venice. How dangerous the Excommunication of the Venetians was to all Italy. Of the great constancy of the Venetian Senate. Of the Troubles of the Church in the Pontificate of Clement the Eighth. How he opposed himself to Henry the Fourth King of France. Of that King's Resolution. Of the Proceedings of Sixtus the Fifth towards his Kindred. How he banished one of his Relations. Of his Nipotismo, that did the Church neither good nor harm. Of the Resolution of Sixtus, to Excommunicate Henry the Third of France. How the Cardinals opposed it. Of that King's Death. How Sixtus did not much care to assist the League in France. Of some Particularities of the Nipotismo of

of Gregory the Fifteenth. Of the great disorder that was in Rome in the time of Paul the Fourth. Of the Cardinal Caraffa that died last: And of some other Particularities about other Popes.

THAT which we have said in the precedent Book, is rather a Panegyrick for the Popes and their Nephews, than a true dis-interested Relation, becoming a History: Therefore lest our *Nipotismo* should lose its Soul, and that which will make it live, we must fall into our wonted indifference; and by saying all the ill, and all the good that can be said of the *Nipotismo*, persuade our Reader, as it is true, That we have no other Design, than to relate freely and without interest its concerns.

Thus doing, the *Pope* will have no reason to complain; since the ill that is said, will be recompensed by the good; and the *Romans*, or my other Readers, will not tax the Author of partiality or flattery; since he so freely writes all that comes to his knowledge for the instruction of the Publick.

Therefore we will treat in this Book, of all the good and all the mischief, that the Nephews of the *Popes* have done to the Church, ever since *Sixtus* the Fourth. Their good actions shall be set out, that the Memory of the dead may be revived, and due Honour given to the living that deserve it. And their ill deeds shall not be forgotten, that they may be hated by all Mankind; and that the Nephews of the *Popes* to come, hearing the blame they undergo, may learn to esteem good actions, and avoid ill ones.

But the greatest difficulty that I find in the execution of this my design, will be, how to separate the good Corn from the Tares: For all that the *Nipotismo*

Niposismo does, is thought good and just by them, though never so wicked; and the *Romans*, on the contrary, will scarce allow of any of their actions, though never so virtuous.

Christ has often compared in his Gospel the Church to a Field; and indeed it was a very fit Metaphor: for, like a Field, it has always been either sowed or mowed; and it is a hard matter to know, whether the number of the Sowers does exceed that of the Mowers, though their Employment be very different.

But certainly we may say, That the *Popes* Nephews have alwayes been the Mowers, and the rest of Christian Princes the Sowers. And as Princes have made no difficulty of taxing themselves and their Subjects, and parting with the dearest fruits of their labours, to give to the Church; so the *Popes* Nephews have made no scruple of dissipating and spending in their pastimes and pleasures, that which Princes had spared out of their own Treasure for them.

What would *Constantine*, *Pepin*, *Charlemagne*, the Countess of *Matilda*, and so many other Princes say, if they should come into the World again, to see those Lands and Revenues, which they so charitably gave to the Church, divided, and cast lots for, as his Vestments? Truly I think, that they would now think it as pious a Work, to take from the Churchmen by force, that which they had before given so willingly: and this because they would deliver so many people from the intollerable oppression of these *Niposismo's*. And indeed their insatiability is such, that the Church and State, ruined and spoiled as it is by so many hungry *Niposismo's*, would scarce suffice

justice for their maintenance, if Forreign Princes did not take a pride in enriching the Church by great Revenues, which are all devoured by the hungry *Nipotismo's*; who are very justly compared to the *Hydra's* Heads, whereof one was no sooner cut off, but there sprung seven worse and more envenomed in the place.

It is a kind of a Miracle to me, to hear Princes murmur at the disorders the *Nipotismo's* commit, in robbing the Church, and perverting the use of its Riches; and yet to see those very same Princes contribute out of their own Revenues, and their peoples sweat and labour, towards the enriching of those that they blame.

I think it would be as great a piece of Justice to punish those that are robb'd, as to chastise him that commits the Theft: For if so, the number of Thieves would diminish infinitely; since every body then would take as much care in preserving, as the Thief could use Art in stealing. Whereas now every one relying upon the surety of the publick Laws; and the punishment that attends those that violate them, does as it were give an occasion of offending against them; and as the Proverb sayes, *The Occasion makes the Thief*, which is as much as to say, That they that are negligent in preserving their own, are the cause that others have a mind to it.

If Princes following this Truth, did shut up their Treasures, and stop that Stream of Wealth which flows from their States to *Rome*, while they see that it is all ill us'd, and employed to the ruine of the Church and True Religion; certainly the *Pope's* Nephews would not commit so many Scandals: neither would the World have so much reason to murmur against them.

But

But our Complaints are not like to cease, while Princes shall think it honourable and pious to oppress their Subjects, that they may supply the Court of Rome: And, on the other side, the Niporisimo shall make no scruple of taking any thing from the Church and State, and alledge for their excuse, *That they take nothing but what is the superfluous part of the Churches Revenue.*

What do so many Abbies, Pensions, and other Revenues, which Princes bestow upon Church-men, serve for; but to weaken so much their own States, and strengthen another Princes? to make that which is sacred, profane? turn Crosses into Swords, and Humility into Pride and Majesty? And when they have bestowed thus their Gifts and Presents upon those that do not need them, they are not only forsaken in their greatest distress by Church-men; but are set upon by them, and brought to their ruine, that the Church may have the Sovereignty over their People, in the place of the lawful Princes.

All the disorders and scandals of the Church, State, and Church-men, take their rise from their Riches. When the Church was poor, Church-men were holy, having nothing to employ their minds about, but the Rules of a Good Life: but since once Riches came amongst them, farewell Holiness of Life; they have not the leisure, they are too much taken up with telling their Money, buying and selling Estates and Principedoms; they forget those spiritual Riches of the Soul, and mind only those that relate to the pleasures of the Body.

Riches came in by little and little upon the Church, and by the same degrees Sanctity and Holiness of Life went out. They that read the History
of

of the Church, cannot chuse but have discerned all along the truth of what I say.

And yet every one knowing this, and being so forward to complain and murmur against the *Popes* avarice, and their *Nephews* prodigality; no body thinks of blaming those that by continual Gifts do every day supply and furnish them with these Instruments of Wickedness.

Christ has declared definitively, and pronounced with his own mouth, in the sixth Chapter of Saint *Matthew*, That it is impossible to serve God and Mammon. Now *Mammon* being interpreted Riches by most, nay by all, the conclusion is, That it is impossible to serve God and Riches.

The *Popes*, on the other side, do by their continual practice prove to the world, in enriching their Families, that they are firmly perswaded, that one may at the same time serve God, and the *Mammon* or Riches of this World; or else certainly they would give over tormenting themselves, to make their Kindred great.

Riches are that *Primum Movens* which set the Sphere of the *Nipotismo* a going; and we may say, That in this Heaven of theirs, they are no less devout than poor simple Women are, to purchase that which is promised them by the Church of *Rome*: For as the one falls down before a Crucifix, and adores the Altar, to gain Indulgences; so do the *Pope's* *Nephews* prostrate themselves before their Treasures, and believe that they obtain the pardon of all their faults, in worshipping the Coffers in which they have buried the Churches Riches.

Now if *Christ* has said, That there is no serving God and Riches, How can the *Pope's* give their *Nephews*

phews leave to serve Riches and God? Have the Popes the Power of giving our Saviour the Lie? For what is it else? For either they believe not Christ's Words to be true, or else they are resolved to contradict them in their Practice; both which are abominable to any rational or serious Christian: though I believe that in *Italy* there are thousands who, frightened by the Inquisition, would rather answer, *That Christ was mistaken in his Doctrine*, than say, *That the Pope does amiss in his Practice*.

About four years ago I was in *Bagni del Valle*, a Town so called; where, amongst others, was a Father of the Order of Saint *Augustine*, by name Father *Paolo Segari*, who called himself a Preacher; though for my part I believe he was so far from being a good Divine, that he was scarce Master of the Rules of Grammar in the *Latine Tongue*.

This good Father was one day engaged in a Dispute with a Protestant Gentleman, about the Infalibility of the Pope; and there were many of both Religions present, amongst whom I was one, The Protestant was a Frenchman, called *Jean Antony Guerin*, a Doctor of Physick, and a very ingenious Gentleman; but one who excelled in the knowledge of the Holy Scripture, and did so well understand all the hard Passages of it, that the Ministers of his Religion did often take great pleasure to hear him discourse with so much ability about it.

The Dispute on the Catholick's side was most spent in Words, he being able to answer to all the Protestant's Reasons with nothing but a Negative, and say, *It is not true, That is false*.

But at last, as they grew warm, the Protestant pressing closer upon him, put this Question to him,

on purpose because he saw him so ignorant. *Whether or no it were easier for Christ to have err'd in delivering his Gospel, than for the Pope to erre in his Decrees?*

At this the Monk smiled, and thinking to hit the nail on the head, answer'd him boldly, *That he believed that Christ, as Man, might have have err'd; but that the Pope, as God, could not erre.*

At this Answer the Protestant burst out a laughing, and so did some *Swisser* Ladies, who without doubt had more wit and discernment in matters of Religion, then this impertinent Monk. And thus the Dispute ceased; the Protestant contenting himself to have shewed the others Ignorance, and the Monk thinking he had answer'd most invincibly.

And indeed, in what Soul or Mind can this Opinion be receiv'd, That the *Pope* is more infallible than Christ; That God should fail in his Words, and a *Pope* be infallible in his Decrees? O Blasphemy, and horrible Error in the poor abus'd People! who give more credit to the *Pope's* words, than to Christ's own Gospel.

It has been observed, that in the *Popes* Families there has been Saints, even amongst the inferiour rank of their Servants; and yet there never was any of their Nephews Saints. I have turned over great Volumes of the Church-History, a purpose to see if amongst that great number of men, who are said to have performed Miracles, there were any one of a *Nepotismo* to be found amongst them: But truly I lost my pains; for the *Popes*, who have filled up the *Roman* Kalendar with thousands of Saints, have not yet been able to place one of their Nephews there, And indeed, how is it possible that they, that live in
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delight and greatness, should have room amongst those that have purchased their place in heaven by sufferings and poverty?

And me thinks, it is a sad thing to observe for the Nephews, that all the harm the Church has received, was from those amongst them that shewed the strongest Propension to Riches and Power: whereas all the good that has been done by them comes from those amongst them that have been moderate, and contented with ordinary riches. And now if we measure the good by these moderate men, and the ill by the insatiable, the number of the last being much greater than that of the first, will demonstrate to us that the damage the Church receives from the *Nipotismo* is much greater then the good they ever did or will do to it.

In the time that *Urban* the eighth Excommunicated the *Lucheses* for going about to repress the Insolence of Church-men in their State; all the *Italian* Princes sided with them, not out of any particular affection to them, but out of a politick reason, they being all concern'd in the loss of *Luca*, for thereby the Ecclesiastick State and the pride of the *Nipotismo* would have been encreased. And yet no body for all this durst say any thing against the Pope's Person or Authority, but lay all the fault upon the *Nipotismo*; As one day I heard a Senator of *Venice* discoursing in these words:

Italy has little reason to complain of the Popes, but it has a great deal to murmur against their Nephews. *Urban* would be good and holy if *Francesco Antonio* and *Tadeo Barberini* were not devils; but as his affection blinds him to them, so does their pride blind them in their conduct towards Princes. Because they

have a Vail drawn over their eyes, they think that all the world must be one colour. And they are so busied from morning to night in disposing of that vast Treasure which they have already gathered, and in inventing new waies to purchase more, that they think not of getting the favour of those Princes who will remain such when the Barberins shall cease to be Lords and Masters. If their Interest had not so great an Empire over them they would govern the Church better; and in a word, the Church would be in them, and not they in the Church.

But what a strange Sacrilegious opinion is that which is maintained by the Divines of the Church of Rome? viz. That one who has got his riches by extor-
tions, and oppressing of the poor, and any wicked way, is not obliged to a restitution to the poor: But it is enough if when he dies he leaves his Estate to some Church, founds a Monastery, or an Hospital; as if it were lawful to transgress the Law of God, and bring ones self into a state of damnation to satistie that covetous and insatiable humour of the Churchmen.

If the Walls of Rome could speak, and the Fa-
brick of so many stately Cloysters had mouths to make themselves heard; if those vast Palaces of the *Nipotismos* were animated; Oh! How many tender-hearted Christians would be fain to forsake the City, and retire into desarts, that they might not hear the stones complain for the poor, and lament their misfortunes?

Ferdinand, Second Duke of *Toscany*, having a great deal of reason to complain of the Barberins proceedings towards him, said one day to one who was about to go in Pilgrimage to Rome: That the holiest Tem-

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ple that he should see there would be the Barberins Palace, for that it was cemented and built with the blood of many Martyrs.

If any body in Rome should steal but the value of six pence in his greatest necessity from a Priest, without doubt the *Nipotismo*, who has the Government of the City in their hands, would cause him to be hang'd immediately: and yet they that rob and spoyl the Church go off free, and without any punishment.

Every day there comes out some new Order from the Datary-Office for the reformation of the abuses committed by Church-men in their employments; and the Popes do give often particular Commissions to This and That Cardinal to enquire into the lives of the Monks, and take away those Scandals which do every day encrease: And yet for all this the Romans observe, that the more the Decrees of Reformation are, the more are the Vices multiplied; the disease being so stubborn and inveterate, that it grows worse when the Physician goes about to apply remedies to it.

The Pope's subjects curse the *Nipotismo* for their Tyranny and Extortions. Christendom is scandalized to see that they little believe that Religion of which they make so great Profession. The Church weeps and sheds tears to see its bowels gnawn and torn by the *Nipotismo*. The State, weakened by so many Taxes and Oppressions, sends its cries to Heaven against them. The Monks exclaim, seeing that the *Nipotismo's* Avarice deprives them of their Profit, and makes them contribute towards the maintenance of their Grandeur. Princes and Embassadors retire discontented from Rome, not being able to endure the

Nipotismo's insolence. The Altars themselves are often forsaken and stand empty, the Nephews refusing to grant Indulgences without money.

Certainly these abuses, these disorders, these scandals should drive the *Popes* out of *Rome*. That Gardener that does only cut the top of the Weeds, and not root them out, is but an ill Gardener. But how can the *Popes* reform the abuses of the Church, if they do not begin with their Nephews? For it would also else be a very preposterous Reformation that should begin with the Effect, and leave the cause untouched. Some say, that the *Popes* are holy in the Reformations of the Breviary, and the chastizing of the *Romans* for their faults: But they are devils in leaving the crimes of their Nephews unpunished, for they trusting to their Uncles Indulgence, do slack the Reins, which should curb the natural inclination which we all have to do ill.

But it is now time to enter into a particular Narration of the good and hurt the Church has received from the *Nipotismo*; and as we begun their History at *Sixtus* the fourth, and continued it down to *Alexander* the seventh now reigning: So we will now begin at *Alexander*, and trace it backwards up to *Sixtus* the fourth.

The first mischief, and indeed the most considerable one, caused by the *Nipotismo* of *Alexander*, was the change made by them in the *Pope*; whom from godly, pious, and inclin'd to mortification, they have made sensual and ambitious.

Alexander in the first months of his elevation to the Popedom had so taken upon him the profession of an Evangelical life, that he was wont to season his meat with ashes, to sleep upon a hard Couch, to hate

hate Riches, Glory, and Pömp; taking a great pleasure to give audience to Embassadors in a Chamber full of dead mens skuls; and in the sight of his Coffin, which stood there to put him in mind of his death.

The Cardinals, the Princes, the Prelates, the Romans were all touched with so pious an Example, and did begin to think of reforming their lives. The Hereticks themselves did bear that respect to his Holiness, as to prostrate themselves in the streets, when he went through Rome, not so much in fear of his Majesty, as in honour of his Vertue. Divers French Protestants came on purpose to Rome to know whether his words did answer his reputation; and if he did really lead the life he was said to lead. The noyse of of his Sanctity being so great in France, that it was almost impossible to believe all that was said of it.

Thus lived Alexander, while he lived without a *Nipotismo*: But no sooner had they set their feet in Rome, but the Pope changed his nature, or rather came to himself; for instead of Humility, succeeded Vanity; his Mortification vanished, and his hard Couch, was changed into a soft Feather-bed; his dead mens skuls, into so many Jewels; and his thoughts of death, into eternal designs of Ambition and Grandeur: Filling up his empty Coffin with Money, as if he had a delign to corrupt death, and purchase life with Riches.

Hereupon a publick Minister, returning from his Audience the very same day that the *Nipotismo* came to Rome; and having felicitated his Holiness upon their arrival, said, as soon as he came home, to one of his friends these very words: He is not of the same humour he was wont to be; he was us'd to stand with

his eyes fixed upon the ground, and now he does nothing but fix them upon Don Agostino; Heretofore we did hear him sigh often, and now he is as inclined to laugh. I am afraid the Nipotismo has already spoiled him.

This is the first harm that they have done the Church. I do not know what good they may do hereafter, but hitherto they have done so little that it is invisible; whereas the mischief they are Authors of, is obvious to all eyes. Don Mario, who is the Pope's Brother, and the Head of the Nipotismo, does exercise his place of Governour of Rome with so much Tyranny, that the City it self is become odious to many Families of quality, who have left and removed to other Towns, that they might not be any longer subject to one who gives occasion of complaint to the People, the Gentry, and Strangers; For he is not only averse from doing curtesies, and intemperate in punishments; but he is inclin'd to disgust all those who, having to do with him, do not appease his angry genius with money.

Besides, assuming to himself, in the Government of the Borgo, a greater Authority than does belong to him of right, he does, as it were, eclipse and stifle the jurisdiction of the Governour of Rome; who often is forced to own those faults of which he is innocent, Don Mario laying upon him all the miscarriages, and taking to himself all the profit of both places. For proof of this I will bring an example which will never be forgot by Posterity.

In the time that the Duke of Crequy received that affront to see his Coach assaulted and fired upon by the Pope's Guards, the Cardinal Imperiale, who was then Governour of Rome, was so innocent of this accident, that he did not so much as know of it till

it was past, and then he found that *Don Mario* had so engag'd him in it, that there was no retiring; and indeed though he have since made a Journey into France to justify himself; nevertheless the French Court, who cannot forget the affront done the King and Nation, can less avoid remembrance of Cardinal *Imperiale*, who was charged as the Author of it.

And yet they are very well informed that the design was laid by *Don Mario*, and the execution only charged upon Cardinal *Imperiale*, who has been fain to endure that humiliation and punishment which did belong to the other.

Indeed if the *Pope*, had not in good time made satisfaction for the Injury, the French King was resolv'd to seek his reputation by his Sword; not against the *Pope*, who knew nothing of the business till after it was brought about; but against his Brother, who had set *Imperiale* upon the execution of it.

But in the reparation, the Church was the most endammag'd; for besides the loss of its honour, and that respect which was wont to be borne to it, it received a very great blow in its strength and riches; for not only the *Pope's Nuncio* was immediately sent away from the French Court, but also his Vice-Legat was driven from *Avignon*, and the Court of *Rome* was forced to entertain an Army all the time of the Treaty, and before, for fear of being surpriz'd by the Kings Forces; and when it did come to an agreement, it was concluded in a dishonourable and shameful way for *Rome*, and for the Church. This is the good and profit that the Signor *Don Mario* has brought to the Church;

Church; and yet in the Articles of Peace there was little or no mention made of his person.

The Pope, for all this, is so pre-possessed with a good opinion of him, that he does give him thereby an occasion, and almost an invitation of committing more mischief, than he would do otherwise.

But if *Don Mario* has been useless, or rather prejudicial to the Church, certainly *Don Agostino*, his Nephew, has been little better: He is one that would seem to be born to an Empire; and were it *Alexander's* or *Cesar's* he did enjoy, he would not show a more lofty carriage, nor affect a greater insolence.

When he goes through the City, he does so little regard any body, that he is scarce induced to salute those Gentlemen that civilly do prevent him by pulling off their hats first: but he never begins to any body, no not to a Prince; which is so odious, that for that only pleasure of seeing his pride abated, the Romans do wish the Pope's death.

He did, what lay in his power, to make an eternal Enemy of the Family of the *Colonna's*; which is the noblest and best beloved of *Rome*, and countenanced by the greatest Monarchs of Christendom: and if the Pope had not wisely caused satisfaction to be made for the affront done to the *Colonnas* at the Theatre, the Family of the *Chigi* would have incurred the enmity of a House, which in time might have been revenged, or at least in the quarrel the City of *Rome* would have been divided, and in a kind of War within its self.

The Cardinal *Padrone* too on his side giving him-
self

Self too much up to sensual pleasures, is the cause of great disorders in the Court and Church; for all the Congregations of Cardinals, of which he is the head, are much puzzled how to deal with, and humour a man, who cares for nothing less than that which is committed to his care. Some of the Cardinals and Prelates take example by him, and do commit great scandals; for which they excuse themselves by saying, *That the Cardinal Padrone does commit greater.* And thus betwixt them the poor Church is ill serv'd in both its Temporals and Spiritualls.

I have nothing to say of the other Nephews and Kindred of the Pope; for suppose they had good inclinations, they have little or no occasion to bring them to effect for the publick good, they being not admitted to any publick employment. And indeed it would be but loss of time for any body to summe up the good this *Niposismo* has done the Church; for it is so little, and their ill actions are so many, that it would be stifled by them, like good Corn by Tares.

The people is more oppressed than ever, the City is ill provided, and all things are dear and scarce; the Prelates are discontented, and the money it self is condemned to a perpetual confinement in *Don Mario's*, and the *Niposismo's* Coffers.

It is a strange thing to see, that the Pope should have the power to perswade others to renounce their fortunes, to run into Monasteries, to embrace Pilgrimages, and Mortifications; and yet not be able to perswade a little moderation to their Nephews, and make them content themselves with that lawful encrease of their Fortunes, which eve-

ry body is well pleased to allow them : but they must still be laying taxes upon the people, and discontent upon Princes and States.

I have a friend that is of opinion, that by the means of indulgences, the peoples vices do daily diminish. I know not whether it be true or no, but I am sure that the *Nipotismos* do daily increase, they little caring for Indulgences, and being of opinion; that the Pope is obliged to open them the door of Paradise by force. And though this may be taken as a facetious conceit, yet I am certain that the *Nipotismos* in good earnest do little frequent Churches, but are more employed in getting of money, and taking their pleasure.

But now it is time to speak of *Innocentius* the 10th. his *Nipotismo*, of which it may be said, that it did a little good, and no hurt; because it was alwayes under the *Popes* disgrace, and *Donna Olympia's* oppression; so that none of it were able to show either their malice or their bounty, if they had any: for that good which they did do, may be as well interpreted to proceed from a design of winning the peoples favour, to whom only they could have recourse in their disgrace, as from any good Principles of their own.

But however it were, the poor Church was never the better; for what between *Innocentio's* *Capricios*, and *Donna Olympia's* tyranny, it was most miserably governed; and the Court brought into such a disorder, that the like was never seen before, nor I hope will not be hereafter: since the impression and mark of those blows which it received then are still to be seen in the face of the Church, and will appear to fright all those that should

should go about to bring alike scandal upon it.

And first the renunciation of the Cardinals Cap made by Prince *Pamphilio*, though it were in it self a very necessary action, for the preservation of the *Pamphilian* Family, was nevertheless scandalous and injurious to the Churches reputation; the more because being made without his Uncle's consent, it so looked as if this eminent Dignity of Cardinal were a thing to make sport with, and a profession as easily cast off without shame, as it is ordinarily conferred without merit.

But this had been but an inconsiderable fault, which would have been forgiven without pain in this disorderly age, if all Christendom had not been offended by the tyrannical government of the proud *Donna Olympia*; who having usurped that power which the *Popes* do ordinarily confer on the *Nipotismo*, had brought them to such a desperate case, that they did almost revolt against their Uncle; whose humorfome fancy did make such work by displacing one, and putting in another, sometimes a true, sometimes a false Nephew, and sometimes governing without any at all, that the most patient and unconcern'd spectator could not behold so capricious a Prince without indignation.

The *Nipotismo* being by *Donna Olympia's* means depriv'd of the power of doing good, had nevertheless the faculty of doing mischief left them; and the Lady would have been well pleased with it for she did seek after all occasions of making them odious to the Pope, and to every body else: but they perceiving her design, became good, or at least innocent, out of spite, that the imputation of

of all the misfortune might fall upon her alone, they being not disposed to bear a part of the pain, who had none in the pleasure.

For this reason the Prince *Pamphilia* was alwayes most obliging and ready to serve the Church, and those that requir'd his assistance: giving therein demonstrations of his good nature, and hopes that he might one day rule better with his natural simplicity and equity, than *Dama Olympia* with her refin'd, but wicked policies.

So the two Princes *Ludiviso*, and *Giustiniani* did behave themselves with all care and circumspection, out of a design of pleasing the vulgar; since they could not be admitted to please their Uncle, whose affections they had lost, without having any thing laid to their charge that might deserve so severe a punishment. Let us therefore conclude the innocence of this *Nipotismo*, who never had the power of doing any good, nor the convenience of doing any harm to the Church: which nevertheless was severely handled by that impudent and covetous *Dama Olympia*.

Now let us go a step higher, and come to the *Nipotismo* of *Urban*, or the reign of the *Barberins*; who seem'd to be born for the Empire of the world: and of them indeed there is much to be said. For in the space of three and twenty years, there was occasion for every one of them to show his parts and inclinations, and make the world acquainted with their temper.

They that have writ the life of *Urban*, having proposed to themselves no other design than that of pleasing the *Barberins*, do make perpetual Encomiums of his good actions, but pass silently all his

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his ill ones, that they might not lose that favour, which to purchase, they had undertaken to transmit such gross flateries to prosperity.

There is no doubt but *Urban* did very much advantage the Church and State, enriching them with a great number of Hospitals, Churches, Colledges, Libraries, Castles, Forts, Altars, Temples, Canonizations, and Beatifications; but if we consider the greatness of his visible Revenue, for the space of three and twenty year, we shall find that his expences are inconsiderable compared to it.

I am acquainted with a Roman, who had the curiosity for two years together to inform himself of all the expences of the *Barberins* in the Pontificate of their Uncle, that is, of all the money they had laid out both for the Church and their own Family, and found by computation, that the publick expense consisted in nine millions and a half of Crowns; and their visible private one in twelve.

Let it not seem strange to any one, if I say visible, for every body knows, that the great policy of the *Nipatisms* consists in hiding their own expences, and publishing those that they are at for the Church; whose rotten Walls they ordinarily plaister over with a little Lime and Water, while they build new ones for themselves, covering them with some sad colour that they may hide the expense.

They that will please themselves, let them read the Life of *Urban*, which has been inserted among the rest of the Lives of the *Popes*, composed by *Platina*, and there they will meet with such a quantity of his good works, that they cannot chuse but esteem him as one of the holiest *Popes* that ever was;

was; but they that are otherwise inform'd, are mov'd to laugh both at the Pope and the Author.

There you shall meet with nothing but, that the Pope visited such a Church, confirmed such a Decree of his Predecessor, gave the people his Benediction from the Church of St. *Jean de Lateran*, visited the Hospital of the Trinity, made a great exhortation to the Bishops, excited the Monks to reform, beautified St. *Andre Avellino*, received Ambassadors with great state, opened the Holy Year with Magnificence, consecrated the Church of the *Varican*, gave the title of Cardinalate to the Church of St. *Charles*, rebuilt the Colledge of the Grecians, &c.

But all this while not a word of the Progress of *Gustave Adolfe* in Germany, of the Turkish in the other parts of Christendom (while the Pope lets them both alone) of the excommunication of the Duke of *Parma*, of that of the State of *Lucca*, of the affront done to the State of *Venice*, of the disrespect shew'd to the Crown of *France* in divers occasions, of the War begun in *Italy*, of the Catholick Religion declining in *Poland*, of the Artifices used in the War of the *Valtolina*, and in a word, of so many miseries, and offences given to *Rome*, the State, and all Christendom, by the extravagant passions of the *Barberins*. Of all this I say there is not a syllable, nor the least mention.

Every one knows that *Germany*, the Empire, and the Catholick Religion were upon the brink of their ruine, for want of succour; and yet at that very time the *Barberins* did make War upon the Princes of *Italy*, with the treasure of the Church; their

their minde being more bent upon the raising of their Family, than upon the conservation of Christiendom.

And the mischief was, that they did so besiege the Pope, that there was no means of informing him of the deplorable state of the Affairs of Christiendom: for neither the Emperour, nor the King of Poland could ever obtain any answer to their demands, which I believe never came to the knowledge of the Pope, no more than their dangers. The *Nipotismo* answering their Ambassadors conformably to their own interest, without any regard to the Fatherly and Pastoral care, to which their Uncle was bound by the duty of his place.

But that which was worst of all, was, that they did not openly refuse their help, but by delayes and promises keeping still the Emperour and King of Poland in hopes, they made them neglect to make peace with their Enemies, and refuse those conditions, which else they would have accepted, had not the *Barberius* entertain'd them with the hopes now of an Army, then of a great summe of Money; and at last disappointed them of all.

However the people of the State belonging to the Church were the worse for it; for the *Barberius* taking occasion from the obligation the Pope was in, to assist these Princes, did thereupon lay most heavy Taxes and Impositions upon both Church-men and Layes: The simple people stirred up by the exhortations of some Preachers, who made it their business to declare in their Sermons, That God could not be better pleased then by that assistance given to the distressed Catholicks, did sell all their Jewels and preciousst Household-stuff

to give away to those that had the Commission of gathering their Benevolence.

Out of these summes which were thus raised, the *Barberins* did send it may be one or two in the hundred, and this after so long waiting, and by such chargeable wayes, that half of the money was absorbed in the exchange: which the Emperour and King of Poland having perceived, they were fain to give over their soliciting the *Barberins*, and defend themselves as well as they could.

The Protestants themselves, though much rejoycing at the decaying state of the Catholick Religion in Germany, were nevertheless infinitely scandalized at the Pope's proceedings, saying, as it was true, *That the Barberins did the Catholicks more mischief by denying them succour with such dilatory wayes, than the Protestants by the force of Arms.*

In a word, I think it is not a hard thing to perswade that the *Barberins*, in the time of their reign did the Church a great deal of mischief; it would be much harder to convince any body of the good they have done: and it is so difficult a business, that for my part I shall not undertake it; only I will give the *Barberins* this good counsel, which is, that if they desire to make posterity lose the memory of their ill conduct under their Uncle, they endeavour to get Cardinal *Francisco Barberino* made Pope after the death of *Alexander*; for so it may be, that as in their Uncle's time they did much more hurt then good, they will under Cardinal *Francisco*, who is pious and vertuous, do more good than hurt.

There is an example of this already in the two *Popes* of the Family of *la Rovere*; *Sixtus* the 4th.

4th; and *Julius* the second; for in the time of *Sixtus*, the *Niposismo* was most highly guilty towards the Church, and did much harm, and little good; but under *Julius* it did much good, and little harm; so the same thing may happen for the *Barberins*, if *Francesco* be made Pope.

Gregory the 15th. who was *Urban's* Predecessor, lived to do mischief enough, but it seems had no time to do good: of the four parts of the Popedom his Nephew had three, and he one.

All this Popes thoughts were bent upon the Protestants ruin, particularly, he had a spite to *Genova*, calling it the nest of the Devil: and therefore he pressed the Duke of *Savoy* to besiege it, promising him great succours of men and money. He likewise assisted with all might and main the Emperour in his War against the Protestants of *Germany*. He failed not to solicit the King of *France* to torment and molest the *Huguenots* of his Kingdom, and prevailed with him to do it: which cost him dear, and had like to have proved fatal to his Monarchy, though at last he remained victorious.

The Cardinal *Ludovico* his Nephew, quite contrary, did what lay in his power, to quell in his Uncle this unmeasurable desire of ruining the Protestants, and engaging all Christendom into bloody Wars; but the Pope would never hearken to any thing that he could say about this particular, answering him always in these words, 'Tis enough that I let you do what you will with the Catholics: pray let me have the liberty of doing what I please against the Hereticks our enemies.

His Remonstrances to Ambassadors upon this Subject, were so frequent at every audience that

they were tired with them; and when sometimes the Cardinal *Ludovisi* would interpose, and say something to qualify the heat of the Pope's exaggerations, he would command him to hold his tongue; and sometimes say to him, you have a touch of an Heretick in you.

He did all his endeavours by a thousand plots and Artifices, to reduce *England* again under the obedience of the Church of *Rome*, but all to no purpose; at last, seeing himself disappointed in this his main design after such pains and expense, he resolv'd to get back to *Rome* *Marc Antony de Dominis*, who in the time of *Paul* the fifth *Gregories* Predecessor, had left *Italy*, and was fled into *England*; where, having declared himself Protestant, he did write many shrewd Books against the Pope, and the Court of *Rome*, as one who was well informed of all its disorders.

The Pope, the better to compass his intention, sent to *London* certain Prelates disguised, who had been heretofore intimate with *Marc Antony*. These, coming to him secretly, promised him not only the Pope's and the Churches pardon; but also assured him, that he should be made Cardinal at the next promotion. The Archbishop, trusting to the Oaths and Engagement of these Prelates, left *England*, and return'd once more to *Rome*, where he made a recantation of all his Errours, as they call'd them; But a little after, being carefully watched by the Pope's Spies, they took hold of some words that he said; and having clapt him up in the Inquisition Prison, began to question him for Heresie; and without doubt he had undergone the dreadful fire of the *Roman* Purgatory, if timely death had not prevented the Pope's revenge.

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In a word, this Pope had undertaken the ruine of all Protestant Princes; wherefore he sent great Succours to the Emperour in his war against the Prince Palatine of Rhine, who after some resistance was driven out of his Country, and proclaimed Traytor to the Empire: whereupon his dignity of Prince Elector was conferred upon Maximilian, Duke of Baviere, a Catholick Prince much protected by the Pope.

And the Emperour, in acknowledgment of the Pope's zeal and affection, presented him with the Prince Palatines Library, esteemed, for the great number of Manuscripts in all Tongues, one of the most famous of all Europe. The Pope, having thanked his Imperial Majesty, caused the Library to be transported to Rome with great charge and expence; and as soon as it came, he solemnly sanctified it with his blessing, and so laid it up.

Paul the fifth was almost of the same humour, though he did not undertake things so rashly, but would wisely consider the good and evil that might come of them. It is believed, that in his time an infinite number of Hereticks return'd to the Church of Rome; but I am sure, that above a hundred Italian Families forsook their Country, and withdrew into Protestant Princes Territories, where they might freely follow the Rites of their Religion. Particularly, they went to Geneva, where great numbers resorted every day, and above all many Lucifers, of which some are now aggregated amongst the principal Families of that City.

This Pope, though so zealous for the Church, was nevertheless very Indulgent to his Family, who did usurp a power and authority, as prejudicial to the Church as it was offensive to Princes; with whom the

Borgheses, as well as the Barberins, would often enter into contest.

In the time of this Pope, Italy had like to have seen sixteen Cities of it become Protestants, as Monsieur De Lion, the French King's Embassadour told the Pope; and thus the occasion was:

Paul and his Kindred, for I know not what reasons, did bear a secret grudge to the State of Venice, and did wait for nothing more than for some occasion of shewing their spleen; and it falling out that the State of Venice, according to their ancient Form of Government, did put some Church men in Prison; the Pope upon the notice of it excommunicated not only the Senate, but the whole Nation of the Venetians, as if they had been guilty of their Magistrates fault. But these wise Senators were not so easily daunted, but resolving either to preserve their power and authority within their Government, or to hazard the ruine of it, set some of their Divines on work to write against the Pope's authority, and his Excommunication; which writings did then, and have since produced so great an effect in the minds of most men, that now there is not any little Prince of Italy that cares for the Popes Excommunication, as it has been clearly seen by the examples of the Duke of Parma, the Commonwealth of Lucca, the Duke Charles of Lorain, and many others.

The constancy of the Venetians was invincible in this occasion, and so great, that they sent the Pope word, That if he did not recall his Excommunication they would provide for their own preservation by such remedies as should become the dignity of their State, and its ancient Majesty.

And that they might the sooner bring the Pope to their desires, they politickly sent to Geneva to require that

that City to send them some of their most able Ministers to instruct them in the Protestant Religion. This Artifice having frighted the *Pope* into a condescendency, he was fain to come to an agreement very disadvantageous for the honour of the *Sea of Rome*.

If this *Pope* had not been so unjustly severe towards the State of *Venice*, he would have left a much better name behind him. For to say truth, he did the Church much more good than evil : but it was, and will be, a great spot to his reputation to have gone about to undo the Bulwark of Christendom : for such has the State of *Venice* alwaies been reputed.

We must be forced to skip *Leo* the eleventh (for his short life gave him no time to do good, and hindered him from doing any harm to the Church) and come to *Clement* the eighth, who was a *Pope* that lived both with his Kindred, and for them a good while.

Christendom was involved in great troubles when he came to the Pontificate, there being not ing but Wars and Divisions. The Turks did assault *Germany*, and the Protestants did torment the rest of the Catholick Princes ; besides that, the banish'd Criminals of the Kingdom of *Naples* had made themselves Masters of a great part of it, and spread themselves over all the Country. The *Pope's* main end, amongst all these disorders, was first to provide for his Kindred ; and that care took up so much of his time and treasure, that he was not in a condition to succour those Princes that were fighting for the defence of that Religion of which he was the Head.

In the mean time the *Spaniards*, who had a mind

to hinder *Henry King of Navar* from possessing the Crown of France, which he was lawful Heir of; foreseeing that of themselves they would not be able to resist *Henry's* Right, nor hold out against so generous and warlike a Prince, they did their utmost Endeavours to get the *Pope* on their side, and declare against the King of *Navar*, as against an Heretick, and by consequence incapable of receiving the Crown.

At first, the *Pope* refused to engage openly in a business which would be necessarily expensive and troublesome; and therefore for a while he let the *Spaniards* alone, hoping that of themselves they would be strong enough to effect the Work without him: But they having perceived his intention, soon made a breach in it by the means of the *Nipotismo*, which they gained; and at whose perswasion the *Pope* sent an Army under the Conduct of *Appio Conti*, who was kill'd in an Encounter by some of *Henry's* Forces.

The Catholick Princes of the Realm of France, who were on *Henry's* side, together with the greatest part of the Nation, sent upon this the Marquis of *Pisani* to *Rome*, to desire the *Pope* to recall his Army, and not to oppose a Prince who had promised to be instructed in the Catholick Religion: But the *Pope* not only refused their Request, but would not so much as endure that the Marquis should set his foot in any part of the State of the Church.

Things being in this posture, *Henry* at last resolved to dash all his Adversaries Machines to pieces at once: blow; and therefore he solemnly renounced his Heresie, and was reconciled to the Church: So in spite of the *Pope* and the *Spaniards*, he obtained a Crown, which could never have encompassed a more worthy Head than his. After this, the *Pope's* Army

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was fain to retire, having done little or nothing.

The same hapned in *Flanders*; whither he sent another Army to help the *Spaniards* against the *United Provinces*; who, since the death of the Duke of *Parma*, had obtained many Victories; but it was with as little success as the first: So that the *Pope*, weary of spending the Treasure of the Church to no purpose, commanded his Forces home, leaving the *Spaniards* to look after their own affairs.

The expences of this *Pope* were exorbitant; for he did undertake every thing rashly, and more out of *Caprice*, than ripe judgement and deliberation: So that he undoubtedly did the Church more hurt than good.

There is little to be said of *Innocent* the Ninth, *Gregory* the Fourteenth, and *Urban* the Seventh; for the greatest mischief they did the Church, was, that they liv'd so little. We will therefore come to *Sixtus* the Fifth.

The *Nipotismo* of this *Pope* was one of the most innocent ones that ever was seen; for he hindered them from taking any part in the Government: So that they were in the Court, like Beggars at a Church door; of whom few People take notice.

Not that he was so severe, as to hinder them from a share in his Fortune; for he did bestow large Revenues upon them all: observing nevertheless, to refuse always every thing that they begg'd, and to give them when they least thought of it. He did much affect this sort of Generosity, or rather Sovereignty; for he never suffered any of his Relations to put their hands into his Coffers; nay, he was so absolute, that once he banished a Kinsman of his, because he found his House better furnished, than it could be by those
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Gratifications which he had received from the Pope, who used no more words with him but these, *We have given you so much, and you have so much; How came you by the rest?* And so without delay he banish'd him, and divided his Fortune amongst his other Relations.

If the Nephews of other Popes become rich, it is by the abuse they make of that Authority which they usurp in the Pope's Name. But it was not so with the *Nepotismo* of Sixtus; for he never gave blindly, but with his eyes open, and discreetly: And if there were any Error committed in their growing rich, it was the Pope that was the Author of it, and not they, who were merely passive, and did but receive their Uncles Liberalities.

There is no doubt, but that under this Pope the Church received much more benefit than damage; for the *Nepotismo* having no Power, could not be otherwise than good and innocent; and the Pope himself was so wise and vertuous a Prince, that there were few Miscarriages in his time; if we except that only occasion, in which Sixtus, by his too hasty Excommunication of King Henry the Third of France, brought the Church in danger of losing for ever so noble and flourishing a part of *Christendom*; as it had happened already, by the rashness of one Pope, that the Kingdom of England was entirely lost, only because Clement the Seventh would not yeild a little of his Authority. And indeed, I think, the greatest blemish upon the Reputation of Sixtus is, that he suffer'd himself to be so far transported with anger, as to Excommunicate Henry the Third of France, for having caused the Cardinal of Guise to be killed, and the Cardinal of Bourbon to be shut up in a close Prison,

son, with the Archbishop of Lyons, who were indeed all three Traytors to the Kingdom, and conspirators against the Royal Person of Henry.

The Consistory of Cardinals did oppose this violent Resolution of *Stur*, by remonstrating to him the terrible consequence of it, and the danger that all the Church would incur by the loss of so noble a Christian Kingdom.

But the Pope laughing at all this, answered the Cardinals in this manner; *If therefore you will have it so, we will bring it to pass, that from henceforward you shall be neither honour'd nor reverenc'd by Princes nor Kings; but despis'd, vilified, and exposed to the hands both of the Oppressor, and the Executioner. Certainly, if the killing of Cardinals be conniv'd at, and pass'd over without resentment and chastisement, it may very easily become the case of every one of you. However, we will rather do that which Justice requires, though you little care that Reason be done for the Violence committed, not so much against you, as the Sacred Purple.*

Nevertheless, the Pope was wary, not to precipitate things so suddenly; but suffered five Months to pass, after the death of the Cardinal of Guise: during which interval, he made by Letters several Admonitions to the King; all which proved to no purpose, the King being resolute not to free the Cardinal out of Prison, which the Pope so vehemently urged. Whereupon, seeing he could not prevail, he thundered out the greater Excommunication; with all the accustomed Forms, against the King, and against all those who in the said matter should afford Counsel to, or in any manner whatsoever assist him. Besides which, he also cited the said King to

to make his personal Appearance at *Rome*, within the term of seventy dayes, there to give account of the Death of the Cardinal of *Guise*, and the Imprisonment of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

The King conceived great indignation upon this proceeding of the *Pope*, and began to advise with the Prelates, Bishops, and Counsellors of greatest trust with him, how to ward off such a Storm; and things were carried so far, that the Council-Royal seem'd resolv'd to create a Patriarch in *France*, particularly for the *Galliane* Church, who should not in any wise be subject to, or have so much as the least Communication with the Church of *Rome*: And 'tis likely the *French*, who affect Novelties, would not have been backward to close with this Resolution.

But whilst Matters went on in this manner, it so came to pass, that the King, as he lay with a great Army at *S. Cloud*, two Leagues from *Paris*, was on the first day of *August*, in the year 1569, wounded in the belly with a two-edged Knife, by a Dominican Fryar named *Jaques Clement*, Native of the City of *Lans*, and of the age of twenty three years, as he was receiving Letters from the hand of the said Fryar, who was on his knees; of which Wound he dyed within fourteen hours, in regard his Entrails were pierc'd, having employ'd this short time in ordering such things as concerned his Soul.

This Murder hapned seventy eight dayes after the Summons by the *Pope* for his appearance at *Rome*, within seventy dayes; and his Holiness rejoiced not a little at it, since hereby the displeasure, which the Consistory of Cardinals, the People, and Nobility had conceiv'd against him, as one that car'd not much

to see the destruction of a Kingdom, which would breed disturbance to the common quiet of Italy, from Age to Age, both by Sea and Land.

Great were the Stirs which succeeded in France after the King's death; inasmuch as Henry King of Navar, next Heir to the Crown, began to endeavour the possession thereof, by warring against the Lords of the *Ligue*, who were back'd and upheld by the *Spaniards*, by whom the Succession of Henry was infinitely opposed.

In these Commotions and Broils of France, the Pope gave not those Assurances to the *Ligue*, which they expected and required; and this upon several accounts, but especially because he would not condescend to the Instances of the Cardinals and the *Spaniards*, who much solicited him; giving them this Answer, *When we were against the dead Henry, all you were our Opponents; Now that you would persecute the living Henry, we will not side with you, for the sake of our own Interest.*

It was not a little displeasing to the King of Spain, that the Pope did not succour the *Ligue*, nor declare Excommunicate those Princes and Prelates that followed the side of Navar; so that the King resolv'd to make some protestations to the Pope concerning this Tergiversation. But his Holiness wanted not Pretexes to fence with, and in a manner made sport with those *Spanish* Cardinals, who importun'd him either to unite with the *Ligue*, or send considerable Assistance to it.

Gregory the thirteenth had Nephews, who did not degenerate from the Name of *Buoncompagno*; that is to say, they little car'd to do good, and less to do evil. Nevertheless, according to the Instinct which

which seems natural to Pope's Nephews, this Family of *Boncompagni* could not restrain it self from disgusting some of the principal Persons of the City, by the death of two Gentlemen, pretended to be slain by accident, through the indiscretion of the *Sbirri* or Serjeants. A Policy observed by all Nephews, to colour their vindicative Outrages upon all occasions.

From hence it may be gathered, That the intention of the *Boncompagni* propended more to Evil than to Good; and accordingly they fail'd not to give Instances of the former, though 'tis hard to find any of the latter.

But if Nephewship ever did good in *Rome*, 'twas in the time of *Pius* the Fifth, when all the Proceedings of the Nephews were directed to Good, in regard they wanted Spirit to gainsay the good intention of this Pope; who could not endure to see them in *Rome*, out of a jealousy, that being satiated with the Treasure of the Church, they might fall into the same wicked Road, which had been trodden out by so many others.

Paul the Fourth (for there is not much to be said of *Pius* the Fourth) took not the same course; for he advanc'd a Nephew, who for the space of neer five years, knew not how to do any thing but evil, and evil so enormous, that his Uncle was forced to drive him out of *Rome*, and his Successor to put him to death in *Rome*.

In the beginning of this Pope's Reign, the Murthers, Rapes, Violences, Robberies, Cheats, Injustices, and a thousand other Enormities and Vices, which surrounded the Ecclesiastical State, to the damage of all *Christendom*, were attributed to the Pope, who had set up his Kindred in *Rome*; whom
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after the Pope had banished the City, his Holiness's Reputation seem'd to revive in the hearts of the Catholics, who had been scandalized at him, and now saw, that all the mischiefs were to be attributed to the Pope's wicked Relations.

'Tis a strange thing, that amongst so many Nephews great and small of the House of *Caraffa*, into whose hand the Pope had put the Government of the Church, there should not be one into whose head ever came so much as a single thought to do any manner of good to the Church, to *Christendom*, or to the afflicted State Ecclesiastical.

The mischief which the Nephews of Pope *Caraffa* brought to the Church, or rather to the whole World, was so great, that to this present day the People of Rome retain a certain impression of hatred against all that bear the Name of *Caraffa*, however Noble Gentlemen: it not being possible for any so much as to behold one of them, without regret and aversion.

Cardinal *Caraffa* was twice in danger (I say, in danger, for in him the Papacy would have been endanger'd) to be Pope: Once at the time of the Election of *Innocent*, and before at that of *Urban*. But at both times he was excluded, for the sole consideration of his being of the Family of *Caraffa*: the very Name whereof, in remembrance of the Nephews of *Paul* the Fourth, remains extremely odious both to small and great.

Otherwise, the Cardinal in himself was a Person of merit, and vertue sufficient, to enable him to ascend to such a Dignity, as well as those others that have ascended in his place. Some excluded him, because they doubted lest the *Caraffi* would turn once again to the *Sicut erat*, that is, to aggrandize themselves

at the cost of the Church, and the damage of all *Christendom*; and so much the more, in regard the number of the said Cardinal's Nephews was so great, that even himself could hardly count them; notwithstanding that he did what he could to make it believed, that he was wholly free from personal interest, as well as that of blood.

Long would the discourse be, and infinite the words, if I were obliged to give an account of the Nephews of all the *Popes*, one after another (according to the order begun I down to *Sixtus* the fourth; to whom, as being the Introducer, not of the *Nepotism* it self into *Rome*, but of the Pride and boundless Authority thereof, may be justly attributed all the Evil, which, for the two last Ages, the Nephews of *Popes* have caused to the Church.

Wherefore, I will for the present omit to make a distinct survey of the mischiefs of the other; partly, because I know not readily how to discover the good of any; and partly, because my heart will not suffer me to view, without tears, the Evil of all; which is the more grievous, because irremediable.

What might I say of *Marcellus* the second, who lived but a short time, and gave no authority to his Nephews? Or what of *Julius* the third, who minded nothing else but Feasting, sometimes with one, sometimes with another; and kept his Kindred at *Rome*, rather to accompany him to Entertainments, than to assist him in the Government of the Church, which he little heeded?

What Discourse shall I make of *Paul* the Third, who would have had the *Farnesian* Lillies turned the State of the Church into one sole Garden for their own use? Or of *Clement* the Seventh, who out of a *Capriccio*

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pricio lost the Kingdom, by refusing to grant *Henry* the Eighth of *England* a Divorce from *Catherine*, and a License to marry *Anne Pouillon*, with whom he was in love? What praise shall I attribute to *Adrian* the Sixth, a great Enemy to his own Relations; and perpetually averse from the introducing of a *Nipotismo*?

What shall I say of *Leo* the Tenth, of the most Noble Family of the *Medici*? Where shall I find the good which he did to the Church, spoiling other Princes of their States, to transfer them to his own House? What Title shall we give to *Julius* the Second, of whom it was not known whether he were inclin'd to the hatred or love of his Relations? What shall I say of *Pius* the Third, who liv'd not long enough to receive the Visits of his Kindred?

But if there be not much to be said of the forementioned *Popes*, there is a super-abundance of matter to be said of *Alexander* the Sixth, whose very memory raises horror in the breasts of the *Romans*, even to this day. It seems God Almighty thought fit to chastise *Christendom* with the barbarity of this *Pope*, who, not contented with his own cruel, covetous, and insatiable nature, introduc'd a *Nipotismo* not degenerating from the manners of their Uncle.

Amongst the other *Popes* and their Nephews, was seen, though in the midst of much ill, some spark and glimmering of good; whereas in the Person of *Alexander* and his Nephews, was never perceptible the least ray of good, amidst a vast Ocean of evil; deplorable even by future Ages, not only to those which were so unhappy as to see him living.

Some strongly believed, That this *Barbarian Pope* had sworn himself, and caus'd his Kindred likewise to

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(swear, *Never to do good to the Church.* And they had reason to think so, whilst no sort of Reason prevailed with him, or any of them, who acted all things with an Authority not otherwise limited than by their own unbridled passion.

He would not allow that the *City of Rome* should enjoy certain holy privileges peculiar to it alone; and therefore in the year 1500, having publish'd an *Universal Jubile*, he granted more Indulgences to those that staid at home than to those who, as the custom is, came to visit the Churches of *Rome*, or dain'd for that purpose.

Nevertheless, some were willing to think that he did this out of good policy, as doubting lest all the people of Christendom being already offended with the wicked carriage of his Sons, there might happen at *Rome*, amidst the variety and confusion of sundry Nations, some resolution to the prejudice of all his House. But such reasons had no place in his mind; for those that came to *Rome*, were led thither by devotion; and the diversity of Nations hinders the Union of a people that would take Arms against their Lords.

The principal cause lay in his own humour, which was cruel and totally averse from doing good to any others besides his own Relations: And whereas by so great a concourse the *Romans* were likely to gain something by the traffick of holy Merchandize, to wit, Medals, Crowns, and other consecrated wares, besides the Rent of Lodgings, and sale of Provisions; He would not that they should enjoy this benefit, although the hindrance of it was accompanied with loss both to himself, the Church of *Saint Peter*, and the Office of the Datary.

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ALL the good he did to the Church, was, that he shew'd himself very liberal to Writers and Learned men of all sorts; not out of any natural inclination towards them, but only to oblige them to write well of himself and his Kindred. And accordingly there were some infamous Writers (as I may deservedly call them) who made comparison between his Reign and that of *Alexander*, with a parallel of the qualities of these two persons. Amongst the rest one made a Book, intitled, *The glories of the Papacy of Alexander the Sixth, and the Borgian Family*. God give a thousand ill years to such Writers, who flatter falsely, and at their pleasure make Angels of Devils, and Saints of Tyrants.

Another good thing which this Pope seem'd to do to the City of Rome, was, that there being a great dearth in the State, he caused great plenty of Corn to be brought from *Sicily*, and by this means render'd the City very plentifully stored. But 'twas not any affection for the people that induc'd him to it, but he did it out of consideration of great profit to himself; for he sold Corn at Rome for double the price it cost in *Sicily*, trading with the Churches Money, and putting the gain into the purse of his Bastards. Whence it may be concluded, that he never had any intention to do good to the publick.

Innocent the Eighth, of the house of *Cibo*, was as benign and inclin'd to do good, as *Alexander* was cruel and addicted to do evil. The truth is, *Innocent*, who gave neither Offices nor Riches to his Relations, but with moderation, (as I have said in due place) was a Pope worthy of that time, when Christendom seem'd to be threatned with most heavy calamities.

This man studied from morning to night how to procure benefit to the Church, ease to the People, and comfort to the Catholics; so that no sooner was any thing mention'd to him, but he presently answer'd, *So be it that it bring good to the Publick*. From whence it may easily be gather'd, that all his motions tend- ed to do good, and were far from the design of do- ing evil.

He rewarded all those Cardinals who had nomina- ted and promoted him to the Papal Chair. To the Monastick Orders he granted particular favours and privileges, especially to that of St. *Dominick* and St. *Francis*. He lightned the Church, and likewise the Palace and Court of all superfluous expenses. He us'd great charity towards the poor. He lov'd his Country, and caus'd most ample satisfaction to be given to the *Genoefes* who had been ill treated during the vacancy of the See. He honour'd, and requir'd others to honour all extraneous Nations of the world; insomuch that the *Turk* himself sent an Embassadour to him with some Presents, meerly because he had understood this generous demeanour of the *Pope*; amongst which Presents was the Title of the Holy Cross, - and the Spear which pierc'd the side of our Saviour. Thus the *Romans* report and believe, and accordingly I write it.

He readily pardon'd injuries receiv'd, provided his pardon were desir'd with humility; and he receiv'd Embassadours with so great curtesies, that in those days, the Princes of Christendom knew not how to do a greater favour to a deserving Officer of State than to send him Embassadour to *Rome*, to negotiate with so worthy and good a *Pope*.

He re-bless'd the *Venetians*, who had been interdi- cted

ced by his Predecessor; and although a *Genoise*, yet he omitted not to bestow divers favours on the Senate; being wont to say, *That Popes may receive great honour by keeping good correspondence with the Republick, and great shame by breaking with it.* Whence during his Government he entred into League with the *Venitians*; not in order to raise War against any, but only for procuring an Universal peace, and the tranquillity of all Christendom.

He suppress'd all those Tyrants who in several places tyranniz'd over the State Ecclesiastical. He reduc'd unto friendship the disunited hearts of the *Romans*, particularly, the Families of *Colonna*, *Orsini*, *Margoni*, and *Santa Croce*, which were all embroil'd together in civil feuds; and he commanded all Governours of the State to use their utmost endeavour for extinguishing all other intestine combustions.

He reduc'd all the Kings and Princes of *Europe* to an Universal Peace (and believe me, 'tis little less than a miracle to unite together so many disunited minds.) And indeed since the daies of *Augustus Cæsar*, nevet was there seen in *Europe* so great a peace and concord between all Princes: who attributed this blessed tranquillity to the pious intencion and good conduct of the *Pope*.

He brought to pass, that three the most powerful Armies that ever appeared in the world were rais'd for the destruction of the *Turk*; two by Land, whereof one was commanded by the Emperour, the other by the King of *Hungary*; and the third was a very mighty Fleet commanded by the *Pope* in person, accompanied with the Kings of *France*, *Spain*, and *England*, besides part of the Colledge of

Cardinals, and a great number of Princes.

But whilst all things were putting in order, and eight months of the year allotted for preparation already elapsed, this great Pope fell sick; and his death shortly ensuing hindered Christendom from the most glorious expedition that ever was (or perhaps will be) undertaken against *Asia*; and so much the more in that *Alexander* the Sixth was his Successor.

These examples are alledged by me, to shame those Popes who are so infinitely strangers to the spirit and qualities of *Innocent*. The Church indeed much needs in these daies such a Pope as he to remedy the innumerable disorders and scandals which are so daily multiply'd in *Rome* and the whole State by this practice of advancing Nephews. But since the death of that Pope, so well dispos'd to do good, there have succeeded in the Papacy a multitude of Wretches, inclin'd to nothing but to do mischief, and to avert whatever good might accidentally come to pass.

The chief mischief I find in the Papacy, is, that the unworthy examples of so many Popes addicted to do hurt in the Church, far exceeds the good example of *Innocent*, who hath had few (or none) like himself, in constant seeking good, and averting evil, not only from *Rome*, but also from all Christendom.

In this present Age, Popes strike in with the most, and relinquish the fewest; that is, they follow evil because many have follow'd it, and they despise good because they see it embrac'd by few; accounting it better to hazard their lives amongst a herd of Wolves than to be secure in the company of Sheep.

Greater mischief could not befall the Church, than that which hath befalln it through the strange changes either of the Nature or Disposition of the Successors

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of *Innocent* the Eighth, to the admiration of all but the *Popes* themselves; who never wonder at any thing, conceiving that they have authority sufficient to sanctifie wicked actions.

Now to make a little comparison between the actions of *Innocent* the eighth, with those of *Urban* the eighth *Innocent* the tenth and *Alexander* the seventh, the three last *Popes*; it appears that these latter were wholly bent upon sumptuous Buildings, beautilfying of Altars, repairing of Walls, and other external Ornaments; whereas *Innocent* on the contrary slighted all Pumps, and Magnificences, seeking only the substantial and internal good of the Church. The former plotted from morning to night how to sow division amongst Princes: but *Innocent* spent all his nights in considering how to unite all States and Kingdoms, for the common benefit of Christendom.

Nor is there much need to believe that the *Popes*, who shall succede *Alexander*, will be apt to imitate *Innocent* the eighth. For in the whole Colledge of Cardinals 'tis not possible to find even but one of the like disposition; and I am confident there may be found above fifty of the humour of *Urban*, and above as many more of that of *Innocent* the tenth, as also no less number of that of *Alexander* the seventh; although there be not in all much above threescore Cardinals.

They would think it a sin to imitate good Examples for this reason, if for no other, that they have seen the same imitated by few. And the truth is, good examples are so scarce, that the *Popes* have not had, these forty years, time to seek them; the same being in a manner hid from their eyes, and strangers to the City of Rome, from whence goodness seems ut-

terly banish'd, and wickedness recall'd thither with promise of great rewards.

Great Volumes might be fill'd with the History of *Sixtus* the fourth, who was the man, that first made his Nephews absolute Lords of the Church; if I should set down all the good and evil committed by the said Pope during his Reign: But it would be superfluous, since all the Church receiv'd by that Pope's actions, is summarily contain'd in the Introduction and advancement of his Nephews. A thing extremely scandalous to all Ages, and withall so mischievous that 'tis impossible ever to be laid aside, in regard the *Romans* themselves are so accusom'd to it, being like Lepers, that feel neither the Iron nor the Fire which corrodes their Bowels.

It comes here into my mind, that travelling once from *Rome* to *Loretto*, in the same Litter with a very aged *Roman* Gentleman, I fell to discourse with him about sundry things pertaining to the Papal Government; and particularly I had the curiosity to ask him, How it could be consistent with the spirit of true *Romans* to suffer so patiently the Dominion of the Pope's Nephews, who were so addicted to scrape up wealth, affront most Princes, overturn all things, and tyrannize both in Temporals and Spirituals, with an Authority so absolute, uncontrollable, and even contrary to Reason, that their Government seems rather Turkish than Christian?

He answer'd me with a smile, *That the Romans were become callous*, that is insensible; alluding to their spirits, which alike endure all things from the hands of Nephews, who by several waies tend to the destruction of whatever they meddle with.

God forgive that scandalous resolution of *Sixtus* the

the fourth to introduce (I will not say the *Nipotismo*, but) the Insolence, Vanity, Ambition, Avarice, and the too great Liberty of the *Nipotismo* : For the Church had formerly seen *Pope's* Nephews in the *Vatican*, but not till then the Vices in their Nephews, which peradventure (if not without all peradventure) were brought in by the aforesaid *Pope* by means of the conniv'd-at Liberty which he suffered his Relations to take, and for that having no regard to the future, but minding wholly the present, he went in the direct road to the destruction both of Church and State.

This was that *Pope*, who made war against the *Colonnese*, quarrell'd the *Venetians*, and committed several other exorbitances; for no other reason but the sake of his Kindred; who, during his thirteen long years Popedom, were never any one of them the Authors of the least advantage to the Church, but altogether addicted to spend and spoil, to waste and pour out their Prodigalities at her cost.

More might be said, but to what purpose is it to rub old sores whilst every day produces new and fresh occasions of grief and trouble?

Where are those Primitive times, when the lives of the Ecclesiasticks were solely dedicated to the publick good, and they possess'd nothing as their own; but whatever was surplus to what was necessary to sustain Nature, was all disposed of to the poor, with so holy and overflowing Zeal, from the true fountain of perfect Charity, that it refresh'd even the very sight of the beholders?

One of the greatest evils which the *Nipotismo* hath constantly caus'd hath been their little regard to do good to the poor. The *Romans* do and ever have observ'd

observ'd (and would to God they had not observ'd throughout all ages) that the least charity is that which comes from the houses of the *Popes* Nephews, who themselves have nothing but what they receive as it were by a general Alms; which is no sooner got into their clutches but it becomes transformed into hereditary Principalities, and into a Revenue not temporal, but perpetual and eternal.

But methinks they ought at least to cover these substantial wickednesses with an appearance of good, by giving the poor the remains of their superfluities and not suffer them to clamour at their Palace doors, from whence they are so often driven by the violence of their servants.

But the truth is, the *Romans* give so little credit to the good they should do, having been witnesses themselves to so much of their ill; that it is not possible for them to believe that what they give in Alms proceeds from a good and charitable heart, but from hypocrisy and design.

If there was ever a charitable Cardinal in *Rome*, certainly 'tis Cardinal *Francisco*, who is indeed the most Eleemosynary person in the world: which I know, as not only having seen his publick, but his private Alms. And yet notwithstanding, there is not a *Roman* but believes this to be a meer design, to gain the hearts of those who may be able to advance him to the Papacy. And to say the truth, The principal virtue that shined in *Alexander*, when he was Cardinal, was the great charity he shewed to the poor, giving them almost his whole Revenue; which was mention'd in design of his advantage in the Conclave. But he was no sooner chosen *Pope* but that humour left him, and ever after he held for the bright of
Charity

Charity, what he did to enrich his Kindred, who were indifferently poor, and stood in need enough of the Alms of the *Vatican*.

I conclude this Book with affirming, that the mischiefs which the *Nepotismo* have occasion'd, and still do continue to the Church, are more easie to be seen with the Eye, than writ with the Pen; and therefore those who have been at *Rome* will have more satisfaction in the reading it, than those to whom it will be very difficult to be believ'd, nay, even to be conceiv'd in their imagination.

Il Nipotismo di Roma:

OR, THE

HISTORY

OF

The Pope's NEPHEWS:

The Second Part.

The THIRD BOOK.

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THE difficulties, which the Ministers of Princes meet with in their Treaties with the Popes Nephews, are so great, that the most refined Wits and politic Heads of the Universe cannot easily fathom them; every one losing himself in an Abyss of wonder to see the Court of Rome, in all her own concerns, and with all persons, so selfish and singular, whilst she alone glories in the Title of Universal.

It would be no great matter, if the Nephews would rest satisfied with embroyling and discomposing the minds only of the principal Ministers of State; and

did not likewise make themselves the unhappy instruments of bringing Treaties and Negotiations of the greatest weight to irreparable confusion: the ruine whereof must necessarily draw the consequence of damage to the Pontifical State, disorder to Christianity, and perpetual distaste to those Princes, who know themselves obliged to send their Agents to a Court, where they shall rather receive occasion of disgust than profit. For the Church-men cannot treat with any Prince, without wounding his reputation with secret reproaches and back-biting language.

There are two things, Ignorance and Malice (the usual Patrimony of *Popes Nephews*) which are predominant in the *Nipotismo*, which subvert and drown even those appearances of good, that might otherwise be found in the Court of *Rome*: And the mischief of it is, that these two are inseparable, and go alwaies hand in hand together in the *Nipotismo*; their ignorance is not accompanied with that honest simplicity which often is seen in some of weak understanding; but quite contrary, an ignorant Nephew no sooner marches into the *Vatican* (which thing God knows too often happens) but Artificial Malice displaies her Banners; and if by chance within the Camp there happens to be found out any one that's good and vertuous, she doth her utmost to make him pass for an ignorant lackwit. Whence the Church, Christendom, and the Court do all suffer by the malice and ignorance of those Lordly Nephews, who matter not by which of these two abject qualities they govern.

There have been several Princes in our Age, who finding themselves deluded in some of their affairs, have blam'd their own Officers, judging the errors which

which occasioned their damage, and were indeed committed by the *Nipouismo*, so be caused by the inability of their Ministers; as if it had been in their power to overwhelm the the Course of Nature, and thwart a malicious Ignorance.

Odoardo Farnese, Duke of *Parma*, a Prince truly worthy of a Crown, seeing the business of *Castro*, and his other Affairs with the Church, not to succeed according to his desire, rebuked his Minister who was at *Rome*, believing him a person of very slender experience in the management of the matters committed to his charge.

But when it hapned that his occasions drew himself thither, and consequently oblig'd him to treat personally with the Nephews of Pope *Urban*, he speedily reform'd the ill impression made in his mind against the Ministers, knowing then very well, by his own experience, that all the damages, he sustain'd in that affair, were derived from the ill-will was born him by the *Barberini*: Whereupon as he went from *Rome* he let these words fall, *That the Church indeed is a holy Body, of which the Princes are the Members, and the Pope the Head; but the Nephews by their ill management do daily discompose the Members, not at all regarding how thereby they prejudiced the Head.*

And to say the truth, the Pope's Nephews cannot oftentimes distinguish, what difference there is betwixt a Prince and his Minister; nor what respect the Court ought to shew to them which come to honour it.

The Church-mens understanding, to accommodate the Church so well to the benefit of their proper interest, makes many believe the subtilty of them in pollick affairs to be very great. And truly, the conceit

is not ordinary, which most men have of the pollick understanding of the Ecclesiasticks; every one knowing that the City of *Rome*, in the Art of Governing and making others reasons conform to its will, hath ever been in all times and ages the truest School of Policy, and almost, if not altogether, the Mistris of all Nations: as she who, at her birth from the belly of the rest by a special gift of nature, brought with her into the world the most polite Endowments and refined Customs she could bestow upon her.

Such were alwaies the Customs of *Rome*, who for the space of more than twelve Ages past, knew very well to frame conformable maxims to their own designs. But after that the *Niposismo* began to take possession of an Authority, not limited otherwise than by their own passions, every thing began to put on a new countenance. And having renounced the true and ancient Rules of Government, and found new methods of deport to those who make addressees to them, the Agents and Ministers of Foreign Princes, who come thither to negotiate their Masters affairs, mistake the way that others use to walk in with so much reputation.

From whence it happens, that there are very few return from their Negotiations there without just occasion of complaint; not only that they have not met with due civilities, but that they have likewise been deluded in all their transactions.

The Court of *Rome* indeed, whilst the Popes liv'd without the *Niposismo*, were instrumental in the world to resolve the greatest intricacies of Christendom: but after they were introduced, they served only to confound and entangle the easiest matters; who interposing in things not at all concerning them, they

they ruin'd others business and affairs, besides their own. For they will do nothing now in Rome without pretence of perfect Zeal unto Religion; and yet that Zeal hath certainly the least shew in any of their concerns. Good serves them only for the shadow, but Evil for the substance. Kindness from them, as honey from Bees, being seldom got without the sting of prejudice.

There are some that have fancied the Courting and flattering the *Nipotismo* to be the only way to arrive at the end of their unbridled designs, but these found themselves deceived; for all the merit, or other insinuation, in the world is not able to move the obstinacy of those who (except it proceed from some capricious fancie or other inclination of their own) have no regard to remunerate or gratifie either Subject, Prince, or Prelate.

Yet it is more easie to obtain, than keep their favours: But he that doth, had better be without them: since 'tis so hard to judge whether the Tap they draw their favours from be sweet or sower.

'Tis hard to expresse the difficulties the Ministers of Princes meet with in their treating with the Nephews; which are so great, that some of them have caused an infinitie of Masses to be celebrated to the Holy Ghost, before they began their Negotiations with them. I my self knew one, who vowed to make himself a *Capuchin Frier*, if he could effect a certain business with them; but I believe he had no great intention to put on that habit, because his demand was for his own advantage, and the Nephews are never wont to grant any thing to any one, but what is to their prejudice.

'Tis my opinion, that to be well prepared to treat

in *Rome*, one ought to be well provided of that double spirit; which *Eliza* so earnestly desired of *Ezrah*, whilst double dealing and hypocrisie are the chiefest rudiments of their Policy, I will not say that now do, but, for the space of two Ages past, have resigned in *Rome*.

Let the Agents and Ministers of Princes therefore lay their Heads together in *Rome*, and say Masses to obtain new waies of managing Political Affairs, let them arm themselves with a double spirit; for the Pontifical Negotiations will try the skill of the most experienced Statesmen.

Venice, that with so great prudence in State-affairs foresees the future, never sends any Embassadour to *Rome*, that hath not first been tried, and rendered an incomparable Politician by the experience he hath gotten in the Courts of the chiefest Monarchies of the Universe: yet notwithstanding I my self have heard these words said by an Embassadour sent to *Rome* from thence: *Sin hora sono stato nell' Ambasciata scabrose, hora entro nelle pericolose, dio me la mandi buona con quel Nipotismo*: Till now I have been in rugged Treaties, now I enter into a dangerous one: God send me good luck with the *Nipotismo*.

He, who can live five years in the Court of *Rome* without a stumble, will not find it hard to pass an Age or two (if nature would give him leave) in any other place with reputation and credit.

Yet we know very well by every daies experience, that many Politicians and expert Statesmen, who, for many years together in the management of several Treaties, had rendered themselves as it were immortal by the no small reputation obtained in the several Courts they had been formerly employed in, no sooner

sooner came to *Rome*, but speedily they lost it. And indeed they all come thicker swell'd with the Titles of most eminent and able Statesmen, but depart from thence with very little credit.

And the reason of this is, because as the Sea Coast, which encompasses the Ecclesiastick State, is subject to the usual Tempests of the Ocean; so the *Roman* Havens are very subject to their sudden variations and changes: from whence it happens, that both without and within *Rome*, is so subject to perils and shipwreck. They therefore who go for succour to that Climate, that is not understood by those themselves that are born under it, cannot but meet with storms and tempests. Where affairs put on every day a several face and shape, the difficulty must needs be very great; And many Ministers lose themselves in the Court of *Rome* by this means. For when they believe they Negotiate with a Monarchy, they find they have to do with a Republick; and when they think they treat with a Commonwealth, they find they are engaged with a Monarchy full of Monarchs; whilst there is not one of the Papal Nephews that doth not expect to be treated with as a Sovereign.

Yet because the *Pope* is chosen by the Cardinals, many would believe that these have the same Authority with the *Pope*, not only to treat, but conclude; as the Electors have with the Emperour in Affairs of great importance. And indeed, to hear his Holiness call them Fellows, Companions, and Brethren, makes a strange impression in the Citizens, Strangers, Subjects, and Princes, of I know not what greatness in favour of the Cardinals, every one imagining that they cannot chuse but have a share in the privatest concerns of the Government of the Church,

But for all that things appear quite otherwise, and the *Popes* become absolute Sovereign over those who chuse him; who never know any thing in any affairs untill they are concluded on: He sends Embassadors at his will, treats both of Peace and War at his own pleasure, and in fine, doth whatsoever he hath a mind to, without participating it to any, but those to whom he is guided to by his particular inclinations.

But that, which makes the treating with the Court of *Rome* more difficult, is, That for the most part the *Pope* himself neither understands the Negotiations, nor Negotiators of them. And the Ministers of Princes sometimes as little know which is the *Pope*, for frequently he treats as Nephew, and the Nephews treat as *Pope*. A thing indeed enough to confound any ones understanding, to have the Pontificacy so promiscuously made up of *Pope* and Nephews; He for the Exterieur, and they for the Interiour part of it.

For the *Nipotismo*, which manageth publick affairs, at whose Girdle the Keys of business are tied, Resolves, Negotiates, and concludes any thing without acquainting either the *Pope* or Consistory.

Let any one judge, how it was possible for any Embassador to make any honourable result in the management of the interests of his Prince at *Rome* in the time of *Gregory* the fifteenth; since he himself was so fearful to displease Cardinal *Ludovisi*, his Nephew, that he suffered him to do whatever he had a mind to: who, finding the power he had over him, did every thing without his knowledge.

There were some Embassadors who in their ordinary Visits would in general terms touch upon business,

business, only to feel his Holiness his Pulse, which way he was enclined: But so soon as ever he perceived them to begin to ask Questions, he would immediately make this Answer; *You speak with us, and our Nephew doth all things without either us or you; speak with him, and what he doth, that we do.* And with such like answers he usually entertained those Embassadors that came to him.

From hence it came to pass, that most of the Treaties did not only confound those who managed them; but also the Ministers found themselves obliged to put all their affairs upon Chance; Fineness and Policy standing them in little stead, who were necessitated, as a Ship in an unruly storm, to give themselves up altogether to Fortune.

It was a thing worth the observing, to see how the Embassadors laboured both with bodies and mind, sometimes on this, sometimes on that side; now with the Nephews, then with the the Pope; from one drawing this Answer, *Speak to our Uncle*: From the other, *Go to our Nephew*. So that very often when they concluded any thing with the Nephew, they were in doubt whether or no the Uncle would be contented: And so it hapned on the other side, if they treated any thing with the Uncle, they were ever fearful lest the other, being displeased at it, should cross the whole design; so that though matters were concluded by either of these, they were still uncertain whether the result would be for good or evil.

This Nephew, who did every thing without the knowledge of his Uncle, gave out, he could do nothing without participating to others; and particularly in the beginning the Papacy he alwaies answered, in affairs of greatest concernment, *We will see, We*

We will do, We will speak, We will promise, We will constrain, and such like dictatory expiations.

And the Embassadors were most mortified with this manner of proceedings of the Pope and his Nephews, who knew very well how to agree amongst themselves to the prejudice of those who treated with them. And when things did not go on according to their pleasures, or they found themselves unable to resist the persuasions and arguments of the Embassadors, they would both sing in the same tune: The holy Colledge of Cardinals must be acquainted with the affair, without whom there was never any thing concluded.

And yet those Ministers themselves knew very well, that was but a false pretext; for although the Cardinals were in Rome, yet they were not in the Court, and never knew of the designs of the Pope, nor the Treaties of his Nephew.

In Urban's time there were other Labyrinths in the Court, although this Pope was a far greater Politician than Gregory, and the Barberini much more expert in Government than the abovesaid Cardinal Ludovisi.

At that time, before any thing could be done, all the Nephews favours must be purchased; for he was resolved not to treat with any that was not dependent on his Family. And not only Francesco, the Cardinal Patriarch, was to be courted, but Cardinal Antonio, and Don Tadeo, and his Wife likewise, who so aspired at the Visits of the Ministers of Princes, that the Pope would not give Audience to any that had not first paid his devoir to that Lady: which was the Reason, why the Duke of Parma had such ill success in all his business.

In the beginning of his Reign the Pope, in a manner alone, manag'd all the most important affairs of Christendom, with no small ardency and zeal. But woe you what? The things which he did in the day he undid in the night; for coming to consult with his Nephews, who alwaies found their Uncle's Opinion contrary to their own; they oftentimes brought him to contradict himself, and reverse what he had formerly granted and concluded.

'Tis true, he did this with great subtilty, not failing to find out some fair and specious excuses wherewith to colour their pretexts, and clear the Pope of levity; by which means Embassadors were perpetually deluded, even when they thought they had the Fish in their hands, which on a sudden slip away from between their fingers, beyond possibility of recovery.

Hence affairs were protracted in *infinitum*; So that though in *Urban's* time many Princes treated of a League with the Church and the Pope himself, nevertheless there was not any considerable one concluded in a Reign of twenty three years; during which time divers Princes concluded a League offensive and defensive against the *Barbarini*.

The reason of this was, for that the Pope was too hard towards others, and too soft towards his own Relations; Cardinal *Francesco* too soft towards others, (but dissemblingly) and hard towards his Uncle; Cardinal *Antonio* hard towards *Francesco*, and soft towards the Pope; and *Don Tadeo*, who knew not how to do better, was hard towards the soft, and soft towards the hard.

Cardinal *Francesco* fear'd to disgust *Antonio*, and delighted to displease the Pope; Cardinal *Antonio* fear'd the Pope, but caus'd *Francesco* to fear himself;

Don

Don Ibañez sided with him that was most obstinate in his opinion: And the Pope deny'd to one what he could not grant to the other, granted to this what the other desired, becoming obstinate where there was need of plianeness, and pliable where it behoved him to be obstinate.

Now a Court of this humour afforded work enough to the Ministers of Princes, who were alwaies receiv'd by the Pope with ambiguous expressions, by Cardinal *Francesco* with abundance of fair promises, and by Cardinal *Antonio* with a long train of exquisite complements. But when the Ministers press'd to come to a conclusion of any important business, Cardinal *Antonio* sent them to his brother *Francesco*, who at the appointed hour of Audience us'd to go his visits to the seven Churches, and the Pope himself pretended indisposition of body. And thus the effecting of all urgent business was rendred impossible.

In *Urban's* time 'twas hard for Princes Ministers to find the straight gate to enter into publick Negotiations, and when they were in, they found themselves in a Labyrinth, out of which they could scarce extricate themselves after a thousand turnings and windings.

Monsieur de Lionne, a person of great Abilities, being employ'd Embassadour to Rome by the most Christian Crown, one day ask'd a familiar friend of his (pleasantly) *What kind of person himself had?* To which his Friend answered, *That he had the person of a man worthy of this Age.* *Monsieur de Lionne* reply'd to him, *That he took himself to be like a Tennis-ball, bandi'd to and fro by foul-players,* alluding hereby to the Artifices and tricks put upon him by the *Barbarians*

in

in his negotiating with them concerning the affair of *Castro*.

The truth is, any other Minister but Monsieur de *Lianne* would have shewed much anger in *Rome*, in the time of the War of the Duke of *Parma* with the confederate Princes. This great Man, who was dispatch'd on purpose to procure the appeasing of the rising tumults, knew not which way to turn his wits to invent projects and artifices enough to oppose those of the *Barbarini*, who continually promis'd what they never intended to perform.

He was sent from *Herod* to *Pilate*, and from *Pilate* to *Caiphas*: The one answer'd, *Yes*: The other, *No*. But what was most important, the *Pope* had granted him leave to treat with the two Cardinals his Nephews, with a promise to confirm what should be by them concluded. Hereupon having one day by the power of perswasions reduc'd the said two Lords to reason, he repair'd to the *Pope* to beseech him to confirm the Treaties agreed upon with his Nephews; but he receiv'd for answer, *That 'twas expedient to consider upon the matter*; which consideration never had an end.

All the Policy of the *Barbarini* lay in drawing out affairs in length, and concluding nothing; so that when ever these Nephews concluded any thing with the Ministers of Princes, they presently sent word to the *Pope*, that he should deny to confirm what they had done, and at the same time gave out that such denial was contrary to their wills.

The Republick of *Venice*, when they saw that ancient Monument remov'd out of the *Vatican*, which represented the Benefits done by Saint *Mark* to the Church, sent an Express to carry their just complaints

to

to the *Pope*, but he could never obtain any kind of satisfaction, not so much as in words, the *Pope* turning the matter from himself to his Nephews, and the Nephews from themselves to the *Pope*.

In the mean time great affront was done to the honour of a Republick so well deserving of the Church, without which one may say perhaps there would not not be now a *Pope* in *Rome*, if any where else.

In like manner the Commonwealth of *Lucca* sent an Embassadour to *Rome* to complain of the injury done to them by the *Popes* sending to them the Lord *Recagno* with the title of Commissary, (which was a thing not a little derogatory from the Sovereignty of that State) and the more, in that this good Prelate, sent from the *Barberini*, had something of the *Barbarian*.

But this Embassage had no effect, besides a return of Plenary Indulgency, which the Embassadour carried home, who seeing himself so often baffled at the *Vatican*, fell into the humour of negotiating with the *Saints*, and made his business to receive the Stations sometimes of one Church, and sometimes of another.

The Crown of *Poland* for six years together solicited by its Embassadour to have a Cardinal's Hat for the Lord *Vescomi*, according to his just Priviledges; but in all that time he not only could not obtain his intent; but moreover the *Polish* Embassadour at his return knew not what cause to tell his Master of the denial; for they all gave him good words, and bad deeds. Cardinal *Amonio* excus'd himself by saying, That he had no authority to effect it; Cardinal *Francisco*, That his desire was to serve his Majesty, but his Holiness did not think the Person worthy; And the
Pope

Pope pretended, That he could not make a man Cardinal who was an enemy to his Nephews.

The same was the case of the Citizens of *Bologna*, who dispatch'd an Agent to *Rome*, to supplicate his Holiness, that he would please to remove the Commissary *Della Grascia*, whose being there mightily intrench'd upon their Privileges, but they receiv'd the same Answer with those of *Lucas*; their Envoy returning laden with fair words, but not with Indulgences, as he of *Lucas*; for out of displeasure to have trais'd his intent he would not visit the holy places, but said to a Friend that mov'd him to go and receive the Stations of *St. Mary Maggiore*, (rather like a Protestant than a Catholick) My Friend, if there be no treating with the *Barbarini* who can speak, there is less with the *Saints* who cannot. To what purpose is it to sollicite the dead, if it be so hard to address to the living?

The two Crowns of *France* and *Spain* are manifestly impos'd upon every day, the *Spanish* Policy little availing with the *Barbarini*, whilst they stir not a hairs breadth from their ordinary *Maxime*, which is to perplex the understanding of Embassadors, one of them denying as much as the other promis'd. Which gave occasion to a certain *Florentine* of the great Duke's Court to say, That the greatest miracle of *Rome* was to see all the Ministers of Princes entalix'd with the ambiguous and confus'd treating of the *Barbarini*, to so great prejudice of all *Christendom*.

But if ever any Prince was tantalized by them, 'twas the King of *Portugal*, who by the advice of *France*, and upon hopes given by the fair words of the *Barbarini*, sent the Bishop of *Lamego* with the title of Embassador Royal to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd with

with great honour and respect. But in substance 'twas all but smoke, the Embassadour being unable to obtain either a favourable Yea, or a flat No; that I say not that he obtain'd sometimes the one, and sometimes the other.

This intricate procedure in so important a matter was the cause of great disorders, the Spaniards distrusting the words of the Barbarini, and the French giving little or no credit to the offers made by them. For Cardinal Antonia never ceas'd to assure France, That Lamego should not fail to be receiv'd as a publick Embassadour; and Cardinal Francesco continually promis'd Spain, That his Holiness would never admit a Portugal Embassadour.

And accordingly by this course the Barbarini wholly disgusted the Portugal, little satisfied the Spaniards, and nothing at all the French, and brought the City it self into danger by that fray which happen'd between the two Embassadours, with the death of some Courtiers on both sides, and the declaring Lamego irregular and depriv'd of all Ecclesiastical Benefices, according to the usual penalty of Homicide.

A thousand other Examples might be brought of like nature, but I must omit them to pass on to the actions of Innocent the tenth, who had reduc'd the Court to such a confus'd state, that no body knew where, nor how, to begin any Negotiation; whereupon a Minister of the Duke of Parma said one day That 'twas easier to make a bed for a Dog, than to understand the humour of Innocent.

The Government of Urban was the best in the World in comparison of that of Innocent; for Urban delighted to negotiate with Embassadours, but the other

other avoided their presence as much as possible he could; and when he receiv'd them, 'twas after so disobliging careless manner, that few car'd to confer with him.

No hours were so tedious to him, as those wherein he was to give Audience to a publick Embassadour; for he little car'd to be troubled with the important affairs of Christendome, or those of the Papacy it self.

His particular Maximes were to deny all favours, to answer all suites with a Negative, and never to resolve upon any thing that might advantage the Church, or weaken its enemies.

What others avoided, was in him predominant, that is to say, He lov'd that which was worst. If he possess'd any vertue, he employ'd it not to the benefit of Christendom, but of his own Family; as on the contrary he did his ill qualities to the mischief of the Church and the City.

At first indeed he seem'd so desirous of knowing all affairs both publick and private, that 'twas hoped, his Government would prove the happiest that ever was to the Church. But this vigilance caused no small hurt in general; for when the Subjects of the Ecclesiastical State, Prelates, and forrteign Ministers, conceiving the same to proceed from zeal to Justice, had brought and delivered their Memorials, in hopes of a speedy answer, it prov'd all but loss of time; for they never were call'd, nor admitted to any answer at all. Whence, the Popes way, of denying all and resolving nothing, being understood, it became an ungrateful employment to have any thing to do at Rome.

And to make the way of arriving at their ends

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more difficult to Princes Ministers, for a long time together there was no Officer at Court to present the Petitions of Suiters, as formerly, but he declared one of his Nephews to be Cardinal Patron; who was the Cardinal *Astalli*, but with an authority so freight and limited, that he was almost ashamed of it.

By this means the Court became so much the more at a loss; for such as address'd to this Nephew, receiv'd no other comfort, but to behold him shrink up his shoulders, (as young maids do when ask'd by their Fathers whether they will marry) and hear him tell them, *That all should be represented to his Holiness*. And the truth is, as to this point he was very punctual: But he did it after so timorous and indifferent a manner, out of fear to cross the Pope, whose answer he knew was always the same, *That the matter shall be taken into consideration*; The plain meaning whereof was, *That nothing at all shall be done in it*.

In this confusion some thought it best to address immediately to the Pope; but, besides the difficulty of Access, the Event prov'd always alike; whatever care they took to make their Proposals clear and intelligible, they always hung in the hedge. Yet there were some too that fancied *Innocent* one of the greatest Politicians of the World, till perceiving by effects the clean contrary, they remain'd as mute as Statues for shame of their mistake.

His suffering *Donna Olympia* to rule all, his exalting, and abasing his adopted Nephew *Astalli*; his banishing, and recalling *Don Camillo* his own Nephew; his persecuting, and reingratiating with the *Barbarini*; and in a word, his changing his will and judgment every moment; and his inconstancy in every thing,

save granting Sutes, would have imbroiled any Government whatsoever, and much more the Papal, which is naturally full of confusion.

When there happens a Pope like *Innocent*, bent wholly to reject all the instances of Princes; the only remedy is to sow disturbances in the Church, and broyls between the Protestants and Catholics, thereby to puzzle the *Popes* brain, and frighten him, so that he shall rather seek the friendship of Princes, than they his. Of the success of which course I shall give some Examples.

When the Duke of *Parma's* Army took the Field, to get redress concerning the detention of *Castro*, under the Command of *Don Gauffrido*; the Pope extremely affrighted, as one not much accustomed to the Trade of War, caused the Holy Sacrament to be expos'd forty hours, and Processions to be celebrated to all the Churches in *Rome*.

And not knowing what might be the issue of the War undertaken by the said Prince, who breathed nothing but the extremities thereof against his Person, he thought it his best course to gain the Princes of *Christendom* to his side, and to oblige them to relinquish the Protection of the Duke, by rendering himself extraordinary easie to all Addresses, granting Favours to all demanders, and receiving publick Ministers with so much obligingness, that they needed no more but to open their mouths for any Suit or Request, that of the Pope standing always open to accord it.

A certain Embassador, who for three years together could never obtain any other favour but that of Common Indulgences, finding his desires now satisfied in whatever he demanded, writ to the Prince

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his Master, That the Pope, like a Hackney-horse, travelled very well with a Spur in his Flank, and that he had lately obtained, in eight dayes, more than he could do before in three years: So that it were to be wish'd that the Duke of Parma would give him a touch or two more of the Spur.

In the very same manner, at the time that the French had made themselves Masters of Portolongone, all sort of Favours ran out with a full torrent, many times preventing Requests: Nor did the Pope suffer any man to depart from his presence, who was not satisfied to the height of his wishes.

But no sooner was this State of Affairs changed, that is to say, Portolongone recovered by the Spaniards, and the Duke disappointed in the War, but Negatives appear'd afresh in the Field with greater peremptoriness than before; and the Pope became as deaf as a Stone to all manner of Supplications or Petitions.

Hence it may be clearly seen, or at least argu'd, That most Popes (if not all) neither grant Favours, nor bear any regard to Princes, save at such time as they stand in need of them.

Urban the Eighth was of this very same humour, denying without exception all sort of Favours, which had not their original from his own or his Nephews inclination, however just reasons might be alledged for them; and this as well to the French, whom he made semblance to love, but really lov'd not; as to the Spaniards, whom indeed he affected, though without giving them the satisfaction of seeing any tokens of that affection.

Nevertheless, when he saw *Odoardo Farnese* Duke of Parma enter victorious with 2000 Horse, for the regaining.

regaining of *Castro*, most injunctiously detained from him, then indeed he began both to humble himself to *Spain*, which he had kept under before, and to gratifie *France*, to which he had on divers occasions shewn himself ungrateful; and also to sollicite the Friendship of all sorts of Princes, as well small as great; and that not by promising, but by real concession of Favours with a plentiful hand in *Germany* and *Italy*.

Wherefore seeing the *Popes* have a particular Method of bearing themselves ruggedly and contemptuously to Princes, when they need them not, a wero good policy in Princes to bring it so to pass, that they might always be in a state of fear, sometimes by threatening near hand, and at other times by vexing them at distance.

The Indignities which Princes receive often from the Court of *Rome*, proceed not immediately from an evil intention in the *Popes* towards them, but from the too good inclination of Princes towards the *Popes*; there being some so tender conscienc'd, that they fear the loss of their souls in disgusting a rascallion Courtly that bears the Cassock of a Priest, and serves to sweep the Antichamber of his Holiness or the Cardinal Nephew.

The Ecclesiasticks have Swords in their Mouths, but no courage in their Breasts, I mean, they threaten all People, without considering what issue such Menaces may have: But when they see themselves reprov'd or threatned, then their hearts fail them, they fall a trembling, and humble themselves to every body, especially *Grandees*; although withall, they have the cunning to colour their Fear with the pretext of a religious, pious, and devout meekness,

The nature of the Ecclesiasticks is to disgust, such as comply with them, and save on those that disgust them. So that if Princes would advance their Affairs, and bring down the haughtiness of Rome, they must endeavour to mortifie the Pope.

The Catholick Crown, in testimony of its affection to the Popes, admits into its Jurisdiction only the Roman Religion; besides that the Spaniards also shew themselves most concerned in keeping up the Pope the Head of the Church, and enriching the Ecclesiasticks.

However, they have cared little or not at all the better for it, as to their Negotiations at Rome, in regard that the Ecclesiasticks (that is, the Popes) esteem them not more than others for it, but through fear commonly afford as much or more countenance to the French: from whom on the other side they receive greater disgusts, under pretence of the Gallian Privileges.

'Tis true, the Roman Court very well perceives, that the Spaniards reverence it as the Sanctuary of their Glory, and the absolute Mistress of the preservation of their States; and accordingly it treats them familiarly, that is to say, with good words and ill deeds, with fair shews and bad substance.

The Spaniards suffering themselves to be too much domineer'd over in the Court of Rome, is not only hurtful to the Government of the Spaniards themselves, but also thereby prejudices the Interests of all those Princes that have concerns either at Rome, or with Rome; For when any inferiour Prince would with specious Reasons defend his right over Ecclesiastical Persons, these men presently alledge for their justification the Example of the Spaniards, and there-

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by enforce him not to refuse, what so great and powerful a Monarchy as *Spain* refuseth not to do. And of these Examples the *Popes* have the *Vatican* full, and make use of the same in all Occurrences, to the perpetual nauseating of Princes therewith.

This manner of proceeding between the Ecclesiasticks and the *Spaniards* cannot last long, because the long languishings of Princes, ensuing thereupon, will enforce them either to yield to some violent Remedy, or to open the gate to death.

Every day, yea, every moment, displeasures arise between the Crown of *Spain* and *Rome*; which, how much soever debated, turn always to the satisfaction of the *Pope*, and the disadvantage of the Interests of the Catholic King.

In brief, The Dominion which the Court of *Rome* hath gotten over the *Spaniards* is so great, that how many and considerable soever the disgusts be which this Court puts upon them from day to day, nevertheless the *Spaniards* dare not come to a Rupture with it, being better contented to suffer themselves, than to make others suffer.

The Policy of the *North*, yea and that of *Italy* too, laughs at this *Spanish* zeal, which stoops in so humble sort to the arrogance and insolent Proceedings of the Ecclesiasticks. And indeed what reason is there that such a Monarchy should submit its Empire to a simple Bishoprick? Nevertheless, this is seen done every day in the Ecclesiastick State.

Were it not for the *Spaniards*, I verily believe Affairs at *Rome* would not be so imbroyl'd and perplex'd as they are, for the *Popes* become so extremely proud towards other Princes, and render all Negotiations so extremely difficult, through the little account they

make of publick Ministers, in regard they see themselves back'd and supported by so potent a Crown in Italy.

Nevertheless, I cannot but imagine, That other Princes are for this reason extremely incens'd with anger against the *Spaniards*, who to satisfy an apparent out-side Zeal, ruine the Common Cause of the Sovereignty of all other Princes.

If the *Spaniards* would comply with other Sovereigns, to give the *Popes* now and then a touch of the Spur, thereby to oblige them to go on in the right way, the management of Affairs at Rome would be very expedite, and the Ministers of Princes would not meet with so many difficulties: Which I leave, with the rest, to the consideration of the *Spaniards* and other Princes.

Some Ministers there are, who flatter themselves into a belief that they may be able to bring their Negotiations to a prosperous end, by means of the friendship they have with Cardinals, and the great interest these Cardinals have to defend those Princes of whom they are intitl'd Protectors.

But this opinion of theirs hath no other effect but to confound their Negotiations so much the more, whilst the Protection of Princes by those Cardinals is only external and nominal; for otherwise Policy obliges them to seek in the first place the advantage of the *Pope*, before the profit of the Princes, whom they serve, or at least seem to serve.

Every blow of mortification which the *Pope* receives from any Prince, recoils to the damage of the Cardinal Dignity; and therefore the Cardinals labour to bring it about, that the Advantages may be always on the *Pope's* side. Nor is it necessary to believe

liens the Cardinal, who professeth, *That the Interests of his Prime are dearer to him, than those of the Scarlet Gown is self.*

But this would be a great failure in policy and Interest: Whence it was, that when Innocent beheld his Cousin Olympia anxious and troubled lest the Ecclesiastical State should become involv'd in a War, and lest many Cardinals should engage in it on behalf of the Duke of Parma, out of spight to the Pamphilian Family, the Pope comforted her with these words; *Cousin, fear nothing, the Cardinals will be for us in spight of their own teeth, and will defend the Ecclesiastical State in consideration of their own Interest, though we should go about to ruine it for ours.*

The Grandeur of the Scarlet Gown depends upon the Majesty of the Triple Crown, and the Cardinals are proportionably Great as the Pope is so; whence it is that they strive with all possible ardour to promote the advantage of the Church, and the honour of the Pope; which failing, their own Reputation and Glory must partake in the Eclipse.

Great undoubtedly is the Magnificence of the Colledge of Cardinals; and greater it would be, if it had not been perverted both from the first Institution thereof, and retrench'd of the Prerogatives wherewith it hath been augmented by divers Popes, for the maintenance of its Grandeur and Honour.

But the Popes have corrupted and spoyl'd all; inasmuch as into that Colledge, into which the greatest Princes of the World think it a glory to enter, they have introduc'd some, who have received their Original from the vilest Dunghil of the World; and 'tis not many years ago, that one was created Cardinal, who was the Son of a base Catch-pole.

Hence

Hence it comes to pass, that the *Pope* seeing the *Scarlet Robe* upon the *Shoulders* of so vile and unworthy Persons, they despise it likewise when it is worn on the backs of Great Princes. And tis more than true, That good *Popes* honour the *Cardinals*; when such Honour brings profit to themselves; otherwise they make a mock both of their Persons, and their Order.

And hence it is, that Princes Ministers find themselves in a wrong Box, when they put any trust even in those *Cardinals* who seem the greatest Zealots for their Interests.

Thus I have made a Relation of the manner how things are wont to be negotiated at *Rome*; and shew'd how the great Politicians of *Europe* may save their Reputations; as also the Grounds and Causes of those Mischiefs, which break the sleep and make the heads ake of as many Publick Ministers as reside in *Rome*.

When the *Pope* perceives that Negotiations tend to his own Advantage, he doth things like an absolute Monarch: but when he knows that they are likely to cause any prejudice to him, he lays the cause of not succeeding upon the Congregations of the *Cardinals*, of which there are infinite at *Rome*.

In this manner he shews himself rather as Head of a Commonwealth, than an absolute Prince: and indeed those Congregations serve more for a pretext and help to the *Pope* and the Nephews, than for any benefit to the State.

From such a Government little Fruit, and no Satisfaction can be drawn by the Ministers that negotiate at *Rome*; but rather, as accordingly it falls out, disgusts, affronts, and dissatisfactions.

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In the *Roman Court* there passeth not a day without reproaches against the *Pope* and *Nephews*, as those who study nothing else but to accommodate themselves, and incommode all others that endeavour the good of the *State* and the *Church*.

Greater attendance and application cannot be, than that of *Alexander* the *Seventh* both to *Civil* and *Ecclesiastical Affairs*; and which is most considerable, he doth all things with such an eagerness, that he appears to take no small glory therein.

He lets not one day pass without giving publick Audience, at least very seldom, unless those Infirmities which are his constant Companions indispose him to follow his good intentions; as it hapned for these days lately passed, wherein for a good while together he was not able to give Audience to the *Embassador of France*.

Innocent undertook things slowly, and this slowness spoyl'd all; but *Alexander* being most contrary to such a nature, enterpriseth every thing with great ardour; and this spoils all too, the Ship being lost oftentimes as well through too little Wind, by falling into the hands of *Enemies*, as likewise through too great a Wind striking upon *Rocks*.

The *Ministers of Princes* even still find very great difficulties in negotiating at *Rome*, and perhaps greater too than those which they found in the time of *Innocent*; who indeed intangled things, because he would not extricate them; but *Alexander* confounds matters by too great eagerness to rectifie them. *Innocent* lov'd not to meddle, but with those things whereunto he was enforced; but *Alexander* thrusts himself upon such as might better be let alone.

Hence 'tis that *Ministers* seeing the *Pope* employ his
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mind on a thousand businesses of Christendome, and but of a weak and infirm constitution; they forbear to trouble him; as Cardinal *Macaroni* and *Don Lewis d' Haro* did, who would not let the Pope have any hand in the Treaty of the last Peace, to the no small displeasure of the poor Pope, who was ambitious to receive his part of the glory in a business so important to the Universe.

That which makes publick Agents at Rome thus backward, is the knowledge they have of the Poper mind; who is inquisitive and curious to know every thing, to have a hand in every action, to pry into all the affairs of Christendom, and briefly, to lade himself with so many businesses, that he must needs precipitate them all through want of strength to carry them on: whence 'tis that oftentimes he answers one Minister concerning certain matters of which he had conferr'd with another, and so confounds both himself and them that negotiate with him, who for fear of further embarassing the Poper understanding are fain to break off their most important Audiences.

In the beginning of his Papacy, being ambitious of glory, he would needs sustain alone the weight of all the world, not only of the State Ecclesiastical, in the middle whereof he lean'd upon others, but did not cast the burden wholly off from himself; and at present now he approaches towards his end, his infirmities enforce him to leave others to do, that which it grieves him that he cannot do for others.

Matters were well believ'd, but ill understood at the first entrance of the Cardinal Patron and *Don Mario* into Rome: and now they are well understood, but ill believ'd. These Lords began to Reign with their Eyes shut, and their Ears open; and at present

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sent, the Style being changed, they rule with their Ears shut, and their Eyes open - whence proceeds the multitude of inconveniences to publick Agents.

The Cardinal Patron exercises the Office of his Patronage, in giving himself Patronage for enjoying his pleasures, and avoiding, as much as possible, all hard and knotty affairs; which are wont to perplex the mind, and confound the brain of a Gallant.

Hence it is, that Embassadors, who treat with him, reap no other good but a fardle of Complements, and pleasing expressions, with no small hope that he will act abundantly; but in reality he doth nothing: so that they depart from his presence outwardly satisfi'd, with their hands empty of any thing of substance.

I have known some Ministers, who have believ'd they might speed in their publick affairs by the easiness of knowing the secrets of the Court; which is of great use to a publick Agent, namely, to know the actions, treaties, and conveniences of others, and to keep his own, and those of his Prince, secret.

Indeed, the secrecie of the Court of Rome seems not to be so great as the subtilty, although Excommunications and Censures make a great noise: For those who are introduc'd into this Court are so only for two ends, either to exalt their Family, and support it from falling, (for the Ecclesiasticks, having no Wives, naturally encline to enrich their own Nephews) or else to aggrandise themselves; out of that ambition which alwayes lies under the Robes of Prelacy.

The Cardinals, however sometimes vertuous and experienced persons, are not exempt from certain imperfections which commonly reign in Rome; for they are

are either oblig'd to Princes by a thousand benefices and gifts, or else are their natural Subjects: and for this reason the Princes who have great concerns with Rome, the more they see the Authority and Offices of any Cardinal increas'd, the more they study how to oblige him to be at their devotion, and to withdraw him from that of the Pope.

Now almost all the Cardinals reveal the things which they pretend to discover, either through the importunity of inquisitive Agents, and not to disoblige those to whom they are oblig'd, or else to put greater obligations upon the Princes to whom they are Pensioners, to the end they may receive gratuity after gratuity both to themselves and their Kindred, and especially that they may be assisted in their Pretensions to the Papacy, when the See Apostolical shall become vacant; which is the greatest spur of all.

To this Embassadors trust, and always treat with the Cardinals who are adherents to their Masters, to discover the Counsels by their means. But indeed, they deceive themselves; for the Cardinals being as much concern'd as the Pope in the defence of the Church, the State, and the publick good, in regard all are in capacity to be Popes, they will never reveal any thing which may prejudice that Papacy which makes them great, and which they aim one day to govern.

The Cardinals are not so indiscreet as to reveal any thing that may in any wise prejudice the Interests of the Papacy and Ecclesiastick State; they reveal such things as may be of prejudice to the single person of the Pope, or rather of his Nephews, whom commonly they hate through envy.

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The effect hereof is, that most *Popes* put little trust in the Cardinals when any matter relating to their own House is in agitation, but they do all *more proprio*: for themselves having, whilst they were Cardinals, revealed what they ought to have kept secret, they doubt, being afterwards *Popes*, that others do the like by them; and for this cause they secure themselves, as much as possible, from such dangers.

The Papal Excommunications, which are great against those that reveal the secrets of the *Roman Court*, as well temporal persons as spiritual, have no other effect but to put all into confusion, and to cause ambiguities on all sides. Hence such things as are revealed, seem not really to be so, but only intimated; and consequently no small prudence is requisite to understand what is spoken, because the revealers fearing the sting of the excommunication within their breasts, utter only doubtful, perplex'd, and ambiguous words; by which means such Agents, as think themselves illuminated by such revelations, soon after find themselves puzzled and confounded.

The cause hereof is the fear, which Excommunication begets in the breasts of the scrupulous. But it is true in general, that to mingle things certain with doubtful is proper to the *Roman Court*; and things true with false, to the Ecclesiasticks.

But the Ecclesiasticks being less guilty of valour than fear, (for oftentimes they fear even their own shadows) the more important things are, the more they consult about them; which the *Popes* do, not because the good of the State requires it, or the care of their Pastoral charge urges their consciences thereunto; but only to take from their successors the occasion to charge the blame of mischief upon their

Nephews,

plews. And this is the cause that Negotiations are prolonged, publick Ministers confounded, and poor Christendom so embroiled; as it is at this day.

Ambassadors at Rome, especially in the beginning of a Pontificate, think they treat with the new Pope as a person disinterested, and the Universal Father; not only in reference to things pertaining to the Church, but also to the civil Interests of Princes, and affairs most important to the Universe.

But they deceive themselves, and this Error confounds their Treaties; whilst the Popes have nothing but the bare Title and outward shew of Universal Father, acting all things according to the dictates of their own will and interest.

Were the Popes really Universal Fathers, they would love all alike, and deal with all without affection or hatred: But truly, I know not how they dare assume that Title, especially those Popes, who, without any need of the Church, have made it lawful to themselves to begin Wars, hinder peaces, persecute Nations, and make Leagues against Crowns, Commonwealths, and Princes, perhaps (nay without perhaps) better deserving of the Church, and affected to the publick and universal tranquillity.

I know that if the Popes would deserve the Title of Universal Father, they ought to be Universal towards all; and if at any time to be particular, it should be either out of absolute necessity of Reason of State, or some great importance to the honour of the Church. Thus did the primitive Popes, but within these last hundred years things are altogether transform'd; for the waies of the Popes are directed to the advancement of their Families; whence every Pope has often chang'd his thoughts and purposes, and made

made shew of one thing outwardly, and meant another inwardly; not for that reasons of State (but the reasons of their own Families) so requir'd: which latter are commonly more dear to the Popes than the former. The Ministers of Princes understand what I mean.

It is not possible for the most expert Minister at Rome to succeed well, and with his Master's satisfaction, in the things which he negotiates there. Before I give a reason whereof, I will relate what I read three daies ago in a little book, whether Historical or Fabulous I know not, but much to the purpose.

They say, *Pope Paschal* the second took a conceit to have an Astrologer divine his thoughts. To which end he sent for an Abbot very intelligent in the Art of Astrology, and demanded of him, *What himself thought?*

The Abbot surpris'd at this odd-proposal, desir'd time to answer, and returning home fell to study an Answer; but, not being able to find one fit and proper to the Question, he remain'd much troubled and melancholy.

His Cook observing it; and understanding the cause, bid his Master take courage, and leave the business to him; for he would effect it with reputation to themboth. The Abbot was well pleas'd with this discourse, and being desir'd by the Cook to let him have his Gown and other Habit, gave him it: wherewith the Cook being cloath'd, repair'd to the Pope's preience, and that with the more confidence, for that he was in person and voice very like the Abbot.

The Pope no sooner beheld him, but taking him for the Abbot, *Well,* (said he) *What do I think?* The bold

bold Cook answer'd without delay, *Your Holiness thinks you speak with the Abbot, but 'tis with the Abbots Cook.*

Not much different is that which befalls Embassadors of Princes who negotiate at Rome, where the Popes are wont to do like *Jack-pudding* of a Play, who change themselves in a moment from Man to Woman, and from a Physician to a Muleter.

When an Embassador thinks he treats with a Temporal Prince, and about Civil matters, 'tis with a Spiritual Bishop, and about matters Ecclesiastical Religion serves the Pope to disguise Temporal Dominion, and Temporal Dominion to disguise Religion. Religion precedes Policy, if the Affairs of Embassadors be contrary to the Policy, which the Popes have in their heads: Policy precedes Religion, if the Embassadors strengthen and confirm the particular policy of the Popes.

If perchance a publick Agent treats a League offensive or defensive with the Pope, he finds greater difficulties therein than he imagin'd; for if the Pope see that the League brings much more profit to himself than to the Prince that desires it, he concludes as a Temporal Prince, without derogating from the Authority Spiritual: That is, he reserves a secret clause in his mind to break the League when he will, under colour of Religion: But if he know that the League is likely to bring much more advantage to the interest of the Prince than to his own Family, and to Religion than to his own Purse, excuses are immediately in the field, and the Pope, of a Sacred High Priest, becomes a secular Prince, denying to do any thing, for fear of hazarding the State.

The Ministers of the Emperour and the King of Poland

Poland can witness what I say, for one of them hath often sworn to me, That the *Pope* do in Businesses so confound the sacred with the Prophane, and Religion with Policy, that it is not possible to know whether it belsteter to treat with them as Temporal Princes, or as Secular Lords.

Amongst all the difficulties which Embassadors meet with at *Rome*, this is the greatest and most deserving to be mentioned.

They that enter upon the Government at *Rome*, are ordinarily at their entrance destitute of all vertue, much more of Political skill; and no sooner begin to be a little acquainted therewith, but they must go off, and give place to others, that enter with like qualifications.

The *Purgesser* had never manag'd any kind of publick affair; nevertheless as soon as *Paul* was made *Pope*, they became Masters without having ever been at School, and undertook to wield a Scepter, before they had passed the Ferula.

Cardinal *Ludovisio* had never gone out of his little *Paderna*, where he entertain'd himself from morning to night amongst those Peasants, sometimes in playing at Hazard, and sometimes in dancing Country Jigs, till his Uncle being become *Pope* (*Gregory*) he left *Paderna* for the *Vatican*, the Dance for the Court, hazard for fortune, and the Peasants for Princes; passing in a moment from the command of a Cottage to the Empire of the Church, and from small affairs to the great interests of the World.

Of the *Barbarini*, one was fetch'd from the bottom of a Cloister, where he had scarce learnt to command a Butler to lay the Cloth; another was taken from the Colledge of the Jesuites, where he had practised

only to run up and down the stairs of the Oratory; a third was taken from the Cure of a small Benefice; and the fourth from a state of Domestick Peace to command Armies. A fair turn indeed, no less wonderful than unexpected: yet these Lords have had this particularity, that though they entred upon the government of the Church extremely ignorant, nevertheless in a few daies they became Masters of Masters, and seem'd old, although but Boys, in the subtleties of this Court.

Of the two Nephews of *Innocent* the tenth, the one legitimate, the other adopted, we have spoken sufficiently, and need not rub the sore again; in regard they manifested themselves altogether unexpert, the one by renouncing the Hat, as unable to bear the weight of command; and the other by being expell'd the City, for venturing to command beyond his understanding. For all this *Innocent* introduced them to a vast Government, and laid upon their backs that world which the most expert are hardly able to sustain.

What shall we say of *Don Mario*, *Don Augustino*, and Cardinal *Flavio*? What Governments, Employments, and Charges had they ever possess'd in their lives? Was it not a fine sight to see *Don Mario*, who had never worn a Sword in his life, declared *Generalissimo* of the Holy Church, receiving at the same time, with the General's Truncheon, a License to keep the Sword alwaies in the Scabbard? For when he offered to draw it, and swore to defend the Church with it, the Pope dispens'd with him; saying, Brother, put thy Sword up into thy Scabbard, if thou wilt have part in my Kingdom. To which Command *Don Mario* hath been alwaies obedient.

When

When the Cardinal was called to the Government, he was reading the Fables of *Æsop*, and *Don Augustino* was making love to a little Courtisan of *Sienna*: and yet on a sudden the latter was called from the arms of a base Strumpet, and made worthy of the Marriage of a great Princess; and the other from his Fable of *Æsop*, was admitted to the management of the greatest Affairs, not of *Rome* only, but of the whole World.

Now what prosperous issue can Negotiations have with such a Race of Politicians? Where shall Embassadours begin, at the Head or the Tail? What devices shall they have to unfold their meaning to such, as want sense? Unless all *Popes* should imitate *Gregory* the Fifteenth, who in the beginning of his *Papacy* would not treat of any important matter with any Minister, but excused it by saying, *That he would stay till his Nephews were a little instructed in Political Negotiations*: And he had reason to stay, for in a short time one of them had an ambitious Whimsy came into his Crown, that he understood more than all the Cardinals, and his Uncle to boot; and accordingly he acted and commanded, without communicating with either.

'Tis a tedious thing to Princes Ministers, who are old Stagers in Councils and Affairs, to have to do with raw, unexperienced Persons, and such as are much different from the Primitive Governours of the Church; who, though introduc'd barefoot, and ill clad, and void of all experience, yet their native simplicity serv'd them very well for the preserving a virtuous Life, far from Political cunning: whereas the Nephews of the present *Pope* enter simple, not to edify the People, and adorn the Church with good

Lives; but to Lord it over Princes by Policy not comprehensible.

Most Agents lose their time in learning the nature of those that bear sway at Rome, who are indeed unknown to all. They study in what manner to treat with such persons. They strive to gain the affection of those Governours, who are without any, unless we will say, That they have given up all their affection to heap up Money. They labour to ingratiate with those Nephews who possess all the Grace of the Pope: And in a word, Night and day they contrive to know and be known to the Nephews at Rome, in order to their better success there.

But what in the fairest of these Intrigues, after so many watchings and toils, after having understood those whom they understood not before, in the greatest heat of their Negotiations, in the beginning of their joy for having found out the right way of managing Affairs, and whilst they are beginning to lay open their Interests to Persons by this time arriv'd to some capacity, behold the death of the Pope falling out on a sudden, drives from the *Vatican* and from the Government those Nephews who are now understood and experienc'd, to introduce others ignorant, unexperienc'd, and so void of all Political Knowledge, as never to have seen the Court but on the outside, Consultations but in Sport, nor publick Ministers save in their Coaches.

In this manner poor Embassadors are forced to turn over a new leaf, and like young Scholars put to a new School, they must learn over again what they had learn'd before, to their no small dissatisfaction, as well as injury to their Affairs.

These so sudden shiftings of the Scene, puts the Ministers

Ministers all in disorders and the only satisfaction they find, is to laugh at the new Rackets of the Church, who have so suddenly leap'd from the Dunghill to the Throne.

Cardinal Onofrio Brother to Urban the Eighth, who was taken from a Cloister of Capucines, and introduced into the Affairs of the Court, could never accustom himself to live in any other manner, but in that slovenly way of the Capucines; so that when he was to receive any Embassadors, he committed the most ridiculous pieces of clownishness imaginable.

One day speaking about some War of the Turk in Germany, with the Imperial Embassador, who desired him to prevail with the Pope to succour Christendom, which was endanger'd in that Country; the good Cardinal fetching a great sigh, began to say, Alas my Lord Embassador, those Coleworts, those Coleworts in the Capucines Garden, make me always remember my former condition; and so continuing a Discourse of a quarter of an hour, concerning the goodness of Coleworts, the excellence of Turneps, and the manner how the Capucines boil them in good fat broth, seeming to lick his fingers almost at every syllable, and to swallow a Turnep at every word.

Another time going to visit the Spanish Embassador, and forgetting himself to be a Cardinal, and not a Capucine, he ask'd on a sudden, Of what Covenant is your Reverend Fathership a Son?

The Embassador, perceiving the simplicity of the Person, answer'd him laughing, Father, I am no Son of a Covenant; but indeed I send Sons to the Covenant, of whom perhaps your Fathership is one. The Cardinal finding his error, thought to mend it by replying to the Embassador, Your Excellence may please to excuse

me; for the remembrance of the Capucines is so fresh in my mind, that I take all for Capucines that speak to me: The Embassadour laugh'd, and rising up, said, 'Tis well my Lord, I will be gone then, that I may not be accounted a Capucine by your Eminence.

Moreover, whilst Ministers of Princes talk'd with him of matters of State, the answers he requir'd were about watering of Gardens, sweeping of Churches, ordering of Vestries, rising in the morning, entering into the Choire, begging Alms, and so of all such other things, wherein he was a Master. Nor did he make any difference of persons in his Conferences, but us'd the same Style to every body, *Your Fatherhood will pardon me.* And in his Compliments with Embassadours Royal, he would often say, *I shall accompany you to the door of the Cloister.*

I might relate a thousand such stories, but I will not lengthen the work more then I ought, although there is scarce any Nephew of *Pope* whose mean and carriage, after their sudden advancement to the degree of Princes, affords me not matter for a long Discourse.

'Tis enough that publick Ministers cannot forbear laughter and scorn in their negotiating with them, which serve to inform them of their infirmities. Whence the Embassadour *Justiniani*, being ask'd one day, *Whether he was going to negotiate with Asahli?* Answer'd, *Not to negotiate with him, but to instruct him.* And indeed, such instruction is extreme necessary to the best of them.

But that which displeases them most, is that after so much pains taken to instruct them, they must lose the fruits thereof, and begin all the same course over again with their Successors.

The last difficulty in managing affairs with the Nephews, ariseth from their incomparable Avarice, which is so predominant in them, that they appear more insensible Statues in every thing else, but in studying the means how to make themselves great.

Besides the ninth was the most dextrous, subtle, and ingenious Pope for accumulating wealth that ever sat in the Vatican; whence he was wont to say, *That he had rather have a little Fish in hand, than a great Dolphin in the main Sea.* And at other times, *That an Egg in the morning is better than a Hen at night.* And accordingly, he was contented to lose the interest of a whole year to anticipate the payment of a day; and he always made his Receivers bring him every night the money they had collected; and sometimes he would sit up till midnight expecting them, in regard he could not sleep otherwise through fear of being undone.

This exorbitant Covetousness wholly withdrew his mind from the care of the Papacy, both in Civil and Ecclesiastical matters; Embassadors could not please him better, than to discourse to him of the means to get money; and when they mentioned other matters pertaining to the publick good, they receiv'd no answer suitable to the question; because his thoughts were not employ'd about what the Embassadors spoke, but about what the Receivers of Gabels and Taxes had said to him; with whom he entertain'd long conferences, little caring to give Audience to Embassadors.

Glenn the seventh, who never shew'd himself so extraordinary covetous, though covetous too, had his mind distracted in the like manner, from what was at any time spoken to him, if it were not about money;

money: Whence being one day requested by the Imperial Embassador to joyn with the Emperour, and other Princes, in a League against the Turk, the Embassador perceiving that the Pope gave him no answer, said, *Tom Holiness said nothing to my Proposal*; Whereunto the Pope return'd, *No, for you would us to spend money, and we are thinking on the means to get it.*

Paul the fourth, standing one day in a great mourning in the presence of Cardinal Campeggio, was ask'd by him, *Why beest thou so pensive?* The Pope answer'd, *I am thinking whether you (who perhaps may be my Successor) are likely to be richer than my self.*

Sixtus Quintus, who was one of the greater Popes that the Vatican ever saw, had no other fault, but that he spent most hours of the day in devising what might be done to bring money into his Chesse: And he seems to have died with the same thoughts in his head, for being ask'd by the Venetian Embassador, two daies before his death, *How be'st thou?* He answer'd, *I should be much better, if I had more money to spend.*

Urban the Eighth, in the War he had with the Duke of Parma, and other confederate Princes, lost no little reputation, in attempting the destruction of a Prince so well deserving of the Church, and hazarding the safety of all Italy; yet he caus'd not so much for the dishonour which the Church receiv'd in his person, nor for the great murmur of the people, as for the money disburs'd in it; lamenting the same often with his Nephews, and reproving them for having engaged him in a War of so great expense: as if the loss of money made deeper impression in the Pope's heart, than the detriment of the Church and of Christendom.

Most

Most of the Pope's Nephews call the hours when in they give Audience to Embassadors, *hours of poverty, and of misery*; because they cannot at those times think how to advance their Houses; and therefore they strive to shift them off as much as possible; and many times they promise all before 'tis ask'd; only to be at their liberty.

Some will not allow it to be merely chatting in Alexander, to assume to himself the load of all Civil Affairs of Importance; but only a design to lighten his Nephews of it, and leave them more time to bestow on contivance to fill their Coffers.

Better perhaps it would be for the Church; and the State too, if all Popes would do the like; for to lay the weight of great affairs upon such weak shoulders, is to confound their understandings; and put them in danger of shaming themselves by discovering their addle brains in business. As a good Nephew did in discourse with the French Embassador, about the number of Protestants in France; for meaning to say, *How many Hereticks are there in France?* He mistook, and said, *How many Pistols are there in France?* Which error the Embassador well observing, and knowing the Cardinal Nephew more intent on the money of his Coffers than the benefit of the Church, he answer'd, *The King my Master hath not so many Hereticks in his Kingdom, as he hath Pistols in his Exchequer.*

'Tis not 2000 Ages, since a certain Pope's Nephew said to a familiar friend of his, who brought him notice, that the Spanish Embassador was coming to negotiate with him; *These Embassadors bring us business, and not money, talking all day long with us so sediously,*

reluctantly, and with a great deal of reluctance, (Padroni) After
from of the Court and State, (Padroni) The same Cardinal, so often as he return'd to his
Chamber from accompanying the publick Ministers
(who had visited him) to the door, at the custom is
would fall into a passion, and scornfully say to his
Servants: I have lost two hours time with this stull
Embassadour, and he has gain'd some with me: if any
other come, say I am not at home.

But worse was that other, (not long since dead) who, as much as he could, avoided the Audience of such Ministers, sometimes pretending indisposition, and sometimes that he was not at home; which the Pope his Uncle understanding ask'd him the reason, *Why he did so?* The Cardinal answer'd plainly, *Whilst I am with Embassadours, my Coffers fill with nothing but wind: but when I am alone, they fill with money.*

The same good Nephew had another custome, that when notice was given of the arrival of an Embassadour at the Gate, he would in displeasure cry, *I would his neck were broke.* But when 'twas told him that an Officer of the Datary (that is, the Exchequer) was at the door, he would cry with joy, *He is welcome.*

A certain Embassadour, knowing this Nephew's humour, contriv'd how to make his Visits not grievous; and to that purpose, before he desired Audience, or at least at the same time, he thought fit to give him notice that he desir'd to speak with him for nothing else but the resignation of a certain Benefice; which the Prince his Master intended to make into the hands of his Holiness's Nephews.

The device took well, for the greedy Nephew believing

moving it true, receiv'd him with a very good countenance; and the Embassadour sail'd not to utter in his publick business with a Preface about resigning the *fore said* Benefice or Abbey, although the Prince his Master knew no more of any such thing than I; and he got a fair reception.

It were good, that all publick Agents would put the same tricks upon those avaricious Nephews, and not be so scrupulous as they are; since the Nephews make no scruple to slight their addresses, to break off all Negotiations, and confound whatsoever is offer'd to them.

Without such inventions they are like to get little good from the Visits to the Nephews, who consider nothing but their own Interests, and are indifferent to those of Princes; whence 'tis easie to judge they will do little good in those matters, in which they are engag'd with an ill will.

This may serve concerning the difficulties which Princes Ministers meet with in their affairs with the Popes and their Nephews; and how to avoid the same. Let us now proceed to the Enquiry, *Why the Families of Popes continue not long in Grandeur.*

Some compare the *Nipotismo* to a Tree which is guarded by all, whilst laden with fruit; but as soon as it happens to be deprived thereof, either by the hands of men, or progress of time, every body forsakes it, and nature her self leaves it barren, dry, and hateful, even to the eye of the beholders.

I do not altogether like this comparison, because Trees bear fruit for others; whereas the good Nephews of Popes take all to themselves; and I should rather compare them to Pismires, which all day long go from place to place, seeking provisions wherewith to

fill their Nests, and stop not a moment till they see them full.

There is no body but wonders to behold how the Families of *Popes* daily decline, there being scarce two found that have continued one intire Age, or which remain in the same splendour wherein they were seen to shine, not only during the Reign of the *Popes* their Kinsmen, but for some lustres after; and although some may seem at present to be found great, yet my Observation cannot therefore be decry'd as false, in regard of other reasons to be alledged concerning this matter.

There is no doubt, but many Families are found at this day in *Rome* of good quality and esteem, who have had *Popes* descended from them before *Sixtus* the fourth, as the Family of *Consi* hath had two *Popes* in the *Vatican*, *Innocent* the third, and *Gregory* the ninth; The Family of *Fiesco*, reputed at present the chief Family of *Genoa*, hath likewise afforded two *Popes*, *Innocent* the fourth, and *Adrian* the fifth; And so that of *Orsini*, hath had *Nicholas* the third; That of *Sauelli*, *Honorius* the fourth; *La Gattina*, hath had *Boniface* the eighth; *Piccolomini*, *Pius* the second; *Colonna*, *Martin* the fifth; not to mention others, that have had their *Popes* too.

But this is the difference: 'tis one thing for *Popes* to issue from a Noble Family, and another for Families to rise from the *Pope*. The forefaid Houses received not their Splendour, Nobility, and Wealth from the Papal Grandeur, but it may rather be said, that the Papal Grandeur received splendour from those Families.

Besides, in those daies the Nephews of *Popes* remain'd at home, and did not come to *Rome*; if they did,

did, they brought not with them that insatiable avarice which Nephews bring (or have brought hitherto) when they enter into possession of the *Patrimony*.

I mean not therefore to speak of these Families, which have been in great esteem as well since they have had *Popes* of them, as before. None of these is advanced by the *Papacy*, but remains in the same manner without growth in Ambition, Riches, or Glory.

Particularly, the House of *Colonna* (which is at present one of the most considerable, not of *Rome* only, but of all *Italy*) hath so little valu'd the *Papal* Grandeur in its lot, that they have often persecuted it, only to let the World see that the *Colonnese* pretend not to glory in the Treasures of the Church, but in the merit of the persons, exemplified in the valour of so many illustrious men, who have spent much of their blood for the service of the *Popes* themselves.

'Tis certain, that by two *Popes* issu'd out of the House of *Colonna*, the *Colonnese* have had so little advantage, either in dignity or wealth, that they may say that the *Popes* were taken out of their Family, and that they have the honour to be *Colonnese* of the House of *Colonna*, but not *Colonnese* of the House of *Pope*. But there are many other Families, whose glory it is to have had their rise from the fortune given them by the *Popes*, without which they would never have been any thing considerable; and these are the Families of which I am to speak.

The Family of *Rovere*, from which *Sixtus* the fourth was descended, of it self was very noble, and had liv'd so for above two Ages in *Lombardy*, but by various changes and accidents it was declin'd to such

a degree that the chief branch was remov'd to *Savona*, and there remain'd many years in a mediocrity of fortune amongst the principal Citizens; till *Sixtus*, being made *Pope*, determin'd to revive it to a greater fortune at the cost of the *Vatican*, and the publick Treasury.

All the glories of this House, though dispersed here and there by *Pope Sixtus*, yet in a little time became confined to the sole possession of the Dutchy of *Urbino*, which indeed the House of *Rovere* possessed, but not without great persecutions for the space of 150 years and more, beginning from 1475 till 1631. When the said House was extinguished by the death of *Francesco Maria*, the last Duke, or of *Guido Ubaldo*, if I remember right; there remaining no other Heirs save *Donna Vittoria della Rovere*, married to *Ferdinand* the second great Duke of *Tuscany*.

It may be said, as I shall afterwards prove, that this was the only Family (rais'd by *Popes*) that continued so long together in greatness; and I believe the goodness of the Dukes, who succeeded one after another, contributed not a little to this continuance, which seems to surpass the ordinary measures.

But if we will measure things with the right rule, we shall find that the Family of *Rovere* liv'd in Grandeur but one Age; for there is no necessity to begin to reckon from the time of *Sixtus*, but from *Julius* the second, who was of the same House; who seeing it much declin'd by reason of the great persecutions of *Alexander* the Sixth, determin'd to succour it, though not by burdening the Church; which was in the year 1510. Neither is it needful to extend the reckoning till 1631. because for above twenty years before the death of the last Duke, the Ecclesiasticks fore-

foreseeing the fall of the Dutchy into their own hands, in regard of the great age of the Duke and his want of male Children, they resolv'd to take possession of it by degrees, and accordingly insulted over the poor old Duke, keeping him as if he had been their Subject: wherefore it may reasonably be said, that the House of *Favere*, rais'd by *Sixtus*, continu'd not in grandeur so much as one full Age.

The Family of *Cibo* hath always produc'd men eminent both for Learning and Valour: amongst whom there were two *Popes*, *Boniface* the ninth, and *Innocent* the eighth; the former in these dayes, when Nephews were not wont to enter into *Rome* with the *Popes*, and the latter immediately after the death of the abovemention'd *Sixtus*. But this *Innocent* the eighth would not oppress the Church to enrich his Kindred, whom he saw wealthy enough, and of good account amongst the chief Citizens of the Commonwealth of *Genoa* his Countrey.

He gave them indeed some Offices, but of so small value, that this *Pope's* Kindred did not think it worth while to leave *Genoa* for *Rome*, and so, after the death of *Innocent*, they despis'd their Citizenships of *Rome*, and return'd to *Genoa*; where within a short time by the fault of Cardinal *Cibo*, they lost the Offices given them by the *Pope* their Kinsman, and were forc'd to betake themselves to other courses for a livelihood: well knowing that the Riches receiv'd from the Church stay not long in the hands of the receivers. And they did wisely, for had they remain'd at *Rome*, perhaps they would not be at this day in that grandeur, esteem, and

wealth as they are in the City of *Genoa*.

Of the Family of *Alexander* the Sixth, that barbarous Pope, there would be much to say, did not the consideration of brevity oblige me to pass over many reasons of the destruction thereof. This *Alexander* was descended from the noble Family of *Lenzoli* in *Spain*, being Son of *Goffredo Lenzoli*; but containing both the name and surname of his family, he took that of *Borgia*, which was afterwards turn'd to *Borgia*.

From this Pope sprung the house of *Borgia*, and was by him increas'd and advanc'd to that grandeur, whereof we have spoken in other places. It was divided into two branches, one whereof remain'd in *Spain* in possession of its ancient honours, and the other came into *Italy*; where it became so great by the many principalities conferr'd on it by the Pope, that it seem'd likely to flourish to eternity. But on the contrary, in less than half an Age, it decayed so fast, that 'tis above fifty years since the Family of *Borgia* became extinct in *Italy*.

'Tis true, the Branch in *Spain* continues in some splendour, and possesses at present the principality of *Squillace*; which was given by Pope *Alexander* to his Family: But this Principality is no great matter, *Don Ferdinando Borgia*, the present Possessor little caring for it, for the same reason, as some think, of being purchas'd with the money of the Church; and glorying only in his possessing what his Ancestors had got by their valour, and himself gets by the good service he performs to the Crown, which reckons him one of the chiefest men of *Spain*.

After the Introduction of *Nipotismo*, the Family
of

of *Piccolomini* had another Pope, to wit, *Pius* the third, who lived so short a time, that he was fain to leave his Kindred *Piccoli buomini* (small men) indeed; although they have kept themselves in the rank of Nobility, by having receiv'd considerably from the Church, but only for eminent services perform'd to the same.

We have spoken sufficiently of the House of *Rovere*, and though *Julius* the second, who was of it, might induce us to speak of it here again: yet for brevities sake, we will pass to the Family of the *Medici*, which was indeed amplifi'd by, but not first rais'd by *Popes*, but rather the *Popes* rais'd by it. *Leo* the tenth did his utmost to render his House potent, not in *Rome* only, but also in *Florence*; where it was one of the chiefest of that commonwealth. But what this *Leo* could not, *Clement* the seventh (of the same Family) effected, having with the Emperours assistance enthralled his own Countrey to make his Nephews Princes.

This House hath maintain'd it self for above 300 years together in greatness, and I believe will so continue, because it stands not on the same foundation with other Families of *Popes*. First, because (as I said before) it has rather given *Popes* to the Church, than receiv'd Being from the *Popes*, without need of whom it kept it self long in grandeur. And though at first view the great height of this House may seem to be of right attributed to the force, which *Clement* the seventh us'd to enslave his Countrey, and render his Kindred Princes: Yet this is not pertinent to the question; for *Clement* took not from the Church to give to them, but only destroy'd a Republick, which was an obstacle to the

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the eyes of all *Popes*; and where his Family was already in chief command. Besides, the *Medici* were therein as much oblig'd to the House of *Austria*, by whose Force and power they undoubtedly receiv'd the Principality which they possess with so much glory. And accordingly *Ferdinand* the second and his Ancestors have alwayes shewed themselves most grateful for the Benefit.

The Family of *Farnese*, which is that of *Paul* the third, Successor to *Clement*; came out of *Germany* into *Italy*, in company of the Emperours, who often made this Voyage attended by a great number of *Dutch* Gentlemen; here the chief of this Family gave in divers cases great proofs of their valour, and were therefore preferr'd by the chief and most Potent Princes of *Italy* to greater Dignities and Offices than those which they had possess'd at home, as well Civil as Military, whereof they acquitted themselves well.

The *Popes* especially were ambitious to have them at their service, and by their means obtain'd sundry Victories; without which 'tis likely the Church would have been in great distress. In the Papacy of *Paschal* the second, in the year 1100. *Pietro Farnese*, Captain of the Cavalry of the Church, did wonders in its service, having obtain'd a most glorious Victory against the *Pope's* Enemies on the Coasts of *Tuscany*, restoring to *Costanza* the name of *Orbitello*, a very ancient Colony, and replenishing the same with much people.

Prudentio Son of this *Pietro* under the Papacy of *Lucius* the second, and *Pepone* and *Pannuccio* Sons of *Prudentio*, under the Papacy of *Innocent* the third, effected great things in defence of the Church, which

which was greatly afflicted with the Schism of the Emperors.

The Grandfather of *Paul* the third was *Ramezio Farnese*, who overcame, subdu'd and destroy'd all the Rebels of the Holy Church, which in great numbers molested the State Ecclesiastical, and almost all Christendom; he being Captain of the Papal Army in the time of *Eugenio* the fourth, who indeed was a very worthy Pope; if for nothing else, yet for the good intention he had to reward the valour of this great Captain, and I think he rewarded him abundantly by this testimony which he gave him, *The Church is ours, because Farnese hath given it us.*

In short, in the Civil Broils, which continu'd for above four Ages between the Popes and the Emperors. The Family of *Farnese* with incredible valour and felicity reliev'd the drooping State of the Holy Church.

Nevertheless the last Popes *Urban* and *Innocent*, ingrateful for these benefits, went about to raine this well deserving Family. Now if they persecute those who with their own Blood and Fortunes have serv'd the Church, what man will ever serve it for the future?

These two Cities were indeed separated from the Church, and given to the *Farnesi*, who at first found great opposition, and became Masters of it with great difficulty, and that not before the time of Pope *Julius* the third, in the year 1550. which Pope gave them investiture in despite of *Charles* the fifth, (who could never be perswaded to consent) and assigned them a considerable summe of money for the keeping them.

Within this last forty years the Popes have persecuted these innocent Princes in that manner, that without the assistance of Foreign Crowns, and some of the Princes of *Italy*, they had been exterminate before this, and received so notable a loss, that had it been compared with what they had received from *Paulus* the third, it would doubtless have been found they had received less than they had lost: from whence it may be justly said, they have not enjoyed that Principality which they possess, as a feud of the Church, in that peace and repose, for this last half age, as they ought in reason to have done. For those Popes that gave it them first, gave them also privileges to enjoy it without molestation: and therefore those Popes that have of late troubled the *Farnesi* with so much expense, ought in reason (if there be any such thing in *Rome*) to have forfeited their feudale Rights.

Julius the third, he also failed not to do his part towards the raising of his Family, which was of the *De Montes*, by giving them several offices, and sums of money, by which means in a short time they became very great; but half an age was not past, but it began by degrees to decay and shrink into that mediocrity it is in at this day: which is but small in respect of the condition it was in after the death of *Julius*, who saw them advanc'd, but did not live to see their declension; it being a general Maxime amongst all the Popes Nephews, that they see them advanc'd but to the highest pitch of honour, but live not to see them fall to the lowest point of disgrace.

But the greatest Family of all was the *Caraffi*,
rais'd

rais'd to that height by *Paul* the fourth, though of it self for several Ages before, very illustrious: The authority they had in *Rome*, with the command of several Lands and Castles belonging to the Church, made this name like to be eternal, and being fortified with such strong banks, not at all subject to the injury of time.

But if ever any Family of the *Popes* were in a short time precipitated from the greatest height to the lowest meanness, it was this of the *Caraffi* from *Paul* the fourth, which continued not four year in that Splendour and Eminence the *Pope* had plac'd it, he himself having laid the foundation of their greatness and ruine.

Notwithstanding *Paul* the fourth left his Nephews no small store of Riches, although they were banish'd from *Rome*: which they enjoyed till *Pius* the fourth was preferr'd to the Chair; who being *Pope*, and not able to endure their insolencies, he got them into his hands; and forming a Process against them, he hang'd some of them, beheaded others, and sequestred their Estates, destroying in that manner the House of the *Caraffi*, with no small gust to the Romans, who frequently declared their dissatisfaction with the behaviour of the *Caraffi*.

But some will object, that the House of *Caraffi*, do at this present flourish in *Naples* in great honour and wealth, and may be reckoned amongst the Principal there as well for Splendour and Magnificence, as Wealth, of which they enjoy not a little.

To this may be answered with the same reason I have alledged before, where I spake of the house of *Borgia*, divided into two Branches, one

in *Spain*, the other in *Naples*; for the House of the *Caraffi*, when *Paul* the fourth was made *Pope*, was divided also into two Branches, one of them remaining in *Rome* by the acquisition of a new Estate, the other in *Naples* in possession of what they had got before.

The Lords of the *Caraffi* enjoy at present in *Naples* many Signiories, as particularly the Dutchy of *Matalone*, which they had enjoyed a hundred years before *Paul* the fourth, without interruption, being anciently Dukes from the time of *Ferdinando* first King of *Naples*, and reckon'd amongst his principal Favourites; and are still esteem'd of very well by the Crown of *Spain*, though in the revolutions of *Naples*, upon I know not what considerations, the affection *Philip* the fourth had for a long time for the Duke of *Matalone*, was observed to grow cold.

This Branch that remained in *Naples* received no benefit or advantage by that which was establish'd in *Rome*, which last being extinguish'd by the two *Popes* aforesaid by the death and sequestration of so many *Caraffi*, the other remained in *Naples* daily augmenting by the favours and priviledges they receive from the Crown of *Spain*.

Neither are the Neapolitan *Caraffi* of the same condition with the Roman, they having nothing, as many believe, or at least, very little of the Church Lands in their possession, which continued not long to the other House, not so much as to the second Generation; and therefore these Lords are still so considerable in *Naples*, because their Estates sprang rather from the reward of their valour, than the oppression of the poor.

All

All this notwithstanding, the People of Naples were always disaffected to the House of *Mutian*; for which reason in the Revolution of *Masaniello*, *Don Joseph Caraffa* was slain by the fury of the People, his heart pull'd out of his breast, and his body drawn all about the City, with this Exclamation, *This is he that betray'd the most faithful People of Naples*. Besides, there were several Palaces of the Dukes, full of inestimable Furniture, burnt, without being able to preserve one; and I being then in *Naples*, heard several cry, *We must burn all, to purge the House of Caraffa from the Leprosie of the rest of the Caraffi*; alluding to them who in the time of *Paul the Fourth* had made themselves odious to all the World; as well as to *Rome*.

The Family of the *Buoncompagni* was considerable above thirty years after the death of *Gregory the thirteenth*, which was the Person rais'd them to that height; for though before they were in some degree of Nobility, yet their Estate was but narrow and small; however in the twelve years of his Papacy he let them get so much, that without any great difficulty, they liv'd like Princes after the death of that Pope, who died in *March 1587*.

Giacomo Buoncompagno, General for the Holy Church, left many Sons all rich, and allied to good Houses; notwithstanding in a short time all was consumed: and though there was not one lavish or profuse person in the Family, though they had several Cardinalships and other Charges in *Rome*, yet could not all prevent their growing worse every day: And had not two Marriages sustained them, and put them into the condition they are in, which yet is but mean in respect of the grandeur they were in before, they had

had certainly before this been destroy'd.

But the greatest wonder, in the particular of the sudden destruction of the *Pope's* Families, was in the House of *Peretti*, rais'd by *Sixtus* the Fifth. That *Pope*, to immortalize his Name, and the Grandeur of his House, which was but of very low extraction, married two of his Nephews, or Nephews Sons, I know not which, into the principallest Families in *Rome*; giving each of them considerable Estates in Land, and an infinite quantity of money: and that it might not meet with any untoward accident to subvert it, he settled their Estates in the surest and best places he could, thinking thereby to secure and establish his Family.

Ten years after the death of *Sixtus*, there were seven Males of the House of *Peretti* alive, that is, in the year 1600. all of them very rich; but particularly they which had the Inheritance of Cardinal *Monsalto*, who left his Nephews an Estate of a hundred thousand Crowns in yearly Rent, besides what they had afore.

Many People conceiv'd this Family was establish'd for ever; and who would not have thought so, considering the number and fertility of the Males, their Alliance with the greatest Families, their Riches, and in short, their enjoyment of all things necessary to the immortalizing a Family? Yet the Name, the Wealth, the Grandeur of this House, did all vanish like smoak at the death of Cardinal *Francesco Peretti*, who died in the beginning of *Innocent* the Tenth's Papaey, with no small trouble to the *Romans*, who loved his person exceedingly, having found him full of actions of generosity and nobleness to all that had to do with him.

And

And so was the House of *Peretti* extinct, not being able to continue half an Age. Yet notwithstanding, the death of the Cardinal was the rise of another Family from the *Pope*, which is called the *Savelli*, into which one of his Sisters was married, who remained Heir to a vast and inestimable Patrimony. Some People are confident, That if the House of *Peretti* had continued, the *Savelli* would have been in an ill condition, so as there was no great hurt done, to lose one Family, and have another rais'd.

The House of the *Sfondrati* yielded to the Papacy *Gregory* the Fourteenth, who though sprung from *Milan* himself, yet nevertheless as to his Original, he may not improperly be styl'd both the Son and the Father of *Cremata*, a Town (considering its Antiquity) amongst the principal of *Italy*, besides that, it has in all times produc'd men very eminent both in Learning and Wars. In this City, amongst the most considerable Citizens, was this House of *Sfondrati*, always enjoying the greatest Office in the Council, which procur'd no small envy in the hearts of many: insomuch as some people excited the *Cambiaghi* (which was then a Family of great credit and esteem in the City) to oppose themselves against the Ambition of the *Sfondrati*, who at that time appear'd to carry all before them.

The *Cambiaghi*, back'd and supported by other of the Citizens, endeavour'd what they could the diminution of the *Sfondrati*; and from hence arose (not to say Civil Wars) great feuds and animosities between them, which continued till such time as *Girolamo Sfondrati* was called to *Milan*, where meeting with greater Advancements, he resolv'd to leave *Cremata*.

mona for ever : And from this Family, now become *Milanese*, *Gregory* the Fourteenth descended, who would always acknowledge *Cremona* to be his Country ; yet would declare often, whilst he was a young Student there, He would never remove to *Cremona*, till he was made Bishop of that place : Afterwards arriving at a competency of years, and other qualifications, he begg'd and obtain'd very readily the Bishoprick of *Pius Quartus*, being a person of great worth : He was also made Cardinal whilst he was in *Cremona*, with no small joy to the whole City, who made great Expressions of their Satisfaction, by Bonfires and other Ceremonies, at the news of his Promotion.

How careful this *Pope* was of his Relations, we have sufficiently shewed in its proper place : 'tis enough that not contented with the Marriage of two of his Nephews, towards the perpetuation of his Family, and one of them in particular with the Daughter of the Prince of *Massa* ; he design'd also to make *Emilius Sfondrato* his Brothers Son, who was already entred to the Degree of Holy Orders, to resign his Cardinals Cap : but propounding of it to the consistory, the Cardinals apprehended it a business of so great scandal, they entreated him to content himself, that he had married two Nephews, that were already furnished with Children, to secure the continuance of his Family for ever, without any such hainous and unjustifiable courses.

But all this avail'd not at all ; for in a short time after the death of the *Pope*, in a months time there were three Males of that Family dyed, as if were by Judgment from Heaven, to mortifie the ambition of those *Popes* who destroy Heaven it self, to fill the World with their Nephews. And thus by little and

little

little the House of *Sfondrasi* declined, with all the diligence and care they could use to hold out full forty years, though they made another Person take their Name upon him, that had neither Alliance nor Friendship with them.

Of the House of *Aldobrandini*, from whence *Clement* the Eighth proceeded, who was created *Pope* in *January* 1592. we cannot speak without touching the Cardinal *Aldobrandino* too nearly, who is the only person sustains the Name of a Family, that seem'd, for the Reasons before, impossible to be irradiated; which may notwithstanding be said to be extinct, although the Cardinal bears the Name, and the Princess of *Rossano* enjoys the Estate, as Heir to the House of *Aldobrandino*; yet the one being a Woman, and the other a Priest, they cannot hope to recover it, unless some By-blow should be produc'd: which, though it would be a neat piece of invention, I cannot imagine, because the Cardinal was not at all scandalous in his Life, but always obsequious and respectful of the Princess; who made him Cardinal, and without which he might have been a *Brandino* a Juggler, but no *Aldobrandino*.

But to return to *Pope Clement*, I will affirm, That he, not having fail'd in any thing might furnish Rome with the Family of the *Aldobrandini*, was not in arrears to his Name. In the time that he was *Pope*, there were eighteen Males of the Name of *Aldobrandini*, the greater part of which were married; and it was no small satisfaction to him, to have so great a number of his Relations: upon which score he us'd to say, He was *Pope of Rome, and Prince or chief of the Aldobrandini*.

That

That which was most observable was, He took great pleasure in caressing his Relations; for when any of his Brothers or Nephews that were married came to him, he would tell them, *Let it be your business to provide Children, and it shall be mine to provide them Estates.*

His good Kindred did not neglect to make their advantage of the Counsel of *Clement*, nor he to maintain their Honours; by which means, there was scarce any other Family taken notice of in *Rome*; but the reputation of this, made a noise in every corner.

This House of the *Aldobrandini* was well founded in the Papacy of *Urban* the Eighth, by the assistance of seven Brothers, Grand-children to *Clement*; all of them of so strong and lusty complexions; the Physicians by common consent did assert, there could not be any defect of Posterity. Nevertheless it has fail'd; and which is very considerable, there is not now one Male remaining of the name.

The House of *Borghese* descended from *Paul* the Fifth, who succeeded *Clement* (though *Leo* the Eleventh, who liv'd but five and twenty days, was betwixt them) ran the same fortune; but being of a later Plantation in *Rome*, it conserves still some weak and decrepit Branches. One of the principal designs *Alexander* had, to marry *Don Agostin* with the young Princess *Borghesa*, was to unite the Estate and Patrimony of that tottering and declining House, with the House of *Chigi*, which at that time was rising to great Eminence, though for a while they came not to *Rome*.

There was but one sprig left of the House of the *Borgesi*, and which was worse, even that of a weak temper, and much subject to infirmities: which *Alexander* considering, and what accidents the vicissitudes of the world might bring upon the house of the *Borgesi*, he applyed all his endeavours to make a match (which succeeded well) with his Nephew, and gave him fair hopes of seeing the Patrimony of the *Borgesi* in his own house.

And this is the state of the *Borgesi* at present, who in the time of *Paul* the fifth, had above a dozen males of that name, of which there were not above six married; which was very considerable. But I return to speak how squarts go in the world.

The Families of the *Ludovisi*, *Barbarini*, *Pansili*, and *Chigi*, who yielded the four last Popes, I shall speak nothing of; because they have not enjoy'd the Benefits of the Papacy full out thirty years: so as it behoving us to let them rest in peace, I shall leave the observations of their Catastrophe to them which come after us.

One thing only I shall insert, that the *Aldobrandini* had at one time many more males alive, than are at present left of all these four houses together.

God Almighty bless them according to their own desire; which I do heartily pray, as having no animosity against those that are good.

Some have observ'd, and not with much difficulty, that the greatest part of the Popes Families were, before their advancement to the Papacy, of great antiquity and grandeur; but for many that rais'd themselves by the treasure of the Triple Crown, it is not so easie to find; for instead of attaining to a perpetuation of their Families, they have not
been

been prolific enough to defend them against a perpetual annihilation.

The house of the *Medici* in *Milan* was of above two hundred years antiquity, maintaining it self in great Honour and Magnificence: But after *Pius* the fourth was elected Pope out of it, it grew worse and worse, declining with much more speed than it was rais'd, and that after so extravagant a manner, they could discern themselves rise, but could not perceive their decay.

So the House of *Gregory* the fourteenth, who was born as I have said of the ancient Family of the *Sfondrati*, who had made themselves, as it were, immortal in *Milan*, not only in respect of the greatness of their Authority, but in the multitude of their Issue: yet in less than forty years after *Pope Gregory*, its leaves fell, and the whole Tree of the *Sfondrati* withered.

The House of *Aldobrandini* also, from which *Clement* the eighth was descended, from the time of the *Lombards* to the said *Pope*, continued so eminent in *Florence*; there was at several times three and twenty of that name chief Standard-bearers, and all elected by the people: Nevertheless as soon as there was a *Pope* of this Family (which was *Clement*) it began to decay, and is now at that pass, there is but one sprig left of all the branches, and that infertile and incapable of recovering them, though he should be made a *Pope*.

In short, a thousand other examples might be produc'd to evince what I have asserted; which examples though I have describ'd in History, yet are they enough to demonstrate the *Popes* and their dependants, that all the care, contentions, and

and designs they go through for advancement of their particular Families, are not blessed by the Lord; because he suffers them not to prosper: it being more then certain, That when he keeps not the City, the Watchmen wake but in vain.

God Almighty not suffering those who have rais'd themselves to that greatness, out of the Bowels of those that are in purgatory, themselves to remain long without punishment for their faults. He will not permit those Families that are elated and grown insolent with the wealth and blood of those poor carcasses that are buried in their Church-yards, to continue long in this world themselves, Heaven is offended to behold sacred things transformed into profane, Churches into Palaces, Alms into Thefts, Crosses into Swords, Altars into Lordships, Holy things into Comedy and Sport, Divine Worship into an adoration of Riches, or rather, Adoration into Riches.

He that shall be pleas'd to run over the actions of all the *Popes*, that is, the History wherein all the Families that have afforded any *Popes* to the world, shall find this for an infallible truth, that they are either all as it were extinct, or the small remainder that is left reduc'd to a very mean and inconsiderable condition: As if heaven could not endure the Patrimony of Saint *Peter* should be made an universal scandal to the world, and be an occasion of eternizing the memory of the Sacrilege they have committed.

I had lately an opportunity of discourse with an Abbot born in *Rome*, and experienc'd in their transactions; falling into some speech about the Nephews, and finding their vices, or at least errors

by him, with more vehemence reprehended, than by me, I took the courage to accost him in this manner, *How is it possible, Sir, that the Nephews of the Popes that are living, reading the lives of their Predecessors that are dead, that their Blood should not freeze in their veins to find them extinct, some one way, some another, in spight of all their care to eternize themselves? how is it possible but some gripes of Conscience must torment them when they remember all their wealth belongs to the Church?*

The Abbot would suffer me to go on no further; but cutting me off in the middle, he reply'd, *Sir, He which has too much money, has no time to read over the lives of them that are dead; money puts thoughts always into their heads of eternizing themselves, sometimes by acquiring, sometimes by contriving: The Popes Nephews do read Books, but it is only when they want money, and then 'tis too late.*

And who is there now, would not be amaz'd at such an answer? For my part I believe all the Romans are of the same opinion, and are in much doubt of the salvation of the Nephews. And accordingly another of them of judgment little differing from the Abbot, told his friend, *That the Popes Nephews must of necessity go to Purgatory, for they would be ashamed to go into Paradise, where Christ was, whom they had so wickedly despoil'd in this world.*

These expressions perhaps may seem but railery, and appear but satyrical reflections at first sight; however they come from the very heart, though those that speak them may force themselves into a smile to dissemble it; as the Apothecary conceals the nauseousness of his pills by covering them with silver.

A great

A great part of the sober men in Rome have been very serious in discovering the cause, why the *Popes Families* are of so little duration, seeing their riches so vast,

Some are of opinion, it proceeds from the reasons abovesaid, that is, that God Almighty takes them out of the world as a punishment for the injuries they have done the Church, in robbing it of the greatest part of its treasure, to make their own house insolent and high.

Others are of opinion the Curses and Execrations of the people do pierce the Divine Ears in such manner, that the Divine Justice seems as it were oblig'd to take them away so immatirely, to give an account of the vileness of their behaviour towards the subjects of the Church.

And indeed the people of the Ecclesiastical State are so ill satisfied, and so ill treated by the ill Government of Rome, that is, by the *Popes Nephews* who domineer and lord it over them, that from morning to night they fill the air with their exclamations, from one corner, *When will there be an end of their Extortions?* from another, *O God revenge the cruelties of those Nephews, who have ruin'd us.* Nor do the curses thrown out against the Nephews rest at the people only: The very Priests and Ecclesiasticks themselves do daily sacrifice upon their Altars for the destruction of them, who devouring all they can get, leave not the good people so much as will pay for the celebration of a Mass.

In the time the Duke of Parma was in Arms against the State Ecclesiastick, then in the possession of the *Barberini*, the Cardinal *Francesco* gave order for the performing the forty hours prayers in

his Cathedrals to encourage the People, and to oblige them to pray to God for the extirpation of the enemies of the Church. But whilst the *Litany* of the Saints was singing, a certain *Roman Gentleman*, at the pronounciation of these words, *Vi inimicos Sanctæ Ecclesiæ humiliare digneris*, told a Friend of his that was by, *The Church has no greater Enemies than the Barbarini, who molest it both at home and abroad, so that our prayers to heaven ought to be, to be delivered from them and their Arms.*

From hence it may be argued, That they who bear a secret hatred and detestation of the Nephews, retain it even in the Church, and the place where they ought to pardon all, and are still contriving revenge; and because they find there is no sure way of freeing themselves from their tyranny in this World, they send up their Prayers privately to Heaven: As if they were afraid of the correction of their Popes, who would by no means suffer the Faithful to appeal against their enormity to the Divine Tribunal, but for all that they do not desist.

Others apply the small durance of the Popes Families to that Philosophical saying, *Nullum violentum durable*, as if the great haste and violence they use to make themselves great were that that precipitated them: Like Plants, that by a thousand Arts may be forc'd to bear fruit, and that out of season: But how? Those Artifices, that do offer violence, as it were, to Nature, do not conserve it long; but, weakned by the supernatural force, it loses in a short time its native vigour and is not afterwards to be recovered by all the operations of Art.

'Tis indeed a fine sight to see a Tree bear good fruit in Winter, if it could be made to produce for several

several years; but if the water they use about the Root be but a little hotter than it ought, 'tis enough to ruine both fruit and tree; So as the heedlessness of the Gardener may destroy all that he thought to have done by Art contrary to Nature; for it is necessary the Root be watered with water warm'd to a just proportion to secure against the frosts in the nights, and that all convenient cultivation be us'd; Otherwise all will be spoyl'd, and it will be impossible to preserve a Tree that is by Art constrain'd beyond its own Nature.

In the same manner it happens to the *Popes Nephews*, who grow up on a sudden by a violence they themselves offer to their reason; and marching on towards their own greatness by unusual wayes, they seem horrid and uneasy; as not being trodden on known by other people.

Others there are that alledge, amongst other reasons, why the *Popes Family* are so transitory; their inexperience in the Art of Managery which is necessary for preserving an Estate; their wealth raining down upon them without any sweat or trouble; or contrivance of their own. Like Hebrews that despis'd the Manna sent them from Heaven, they not only neglect to preserve with any prudence and Oeconomy the great quantity of Riches, which is shower'd down in to their Chests by the *Capricio* of fortune; but even nauseate and abhor that, which they believe unsuitable to their Nature.

If a Country-man by accident should light upon a parcel of *Rubies*, at first sight he would be much delighted with their Lustre; but upon second thoughts they would but trouble and perplex him, because he knew not the value of a thing he had gain'd without labour.

cram up their Stomach with more meat than Nature will sustain ; and therefore 'tis no wonder, if they be often forc'd to vomit that up with violence they had so immoderately devour'd.

Many have observed also, most of the *Popes* Kindred have died young too ; and I could instance in a thousand examples : But for two reasons I forbear ; one is, not to grate too much upon the Nephews of our good *Pope Alexander*, nor have the long life of *Don Mario* cast in my dish, though indeed it is not above ten years since he had any relation to the *Pope* ; the other is, because I have something else to think on.

FINIS.
